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Economic Progress Report For 31 Jul-6 Aug 88

AU0608184488 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 31 July-6 August carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Durres District: Fifty collectives have fulfilled or overfulfilled the 7-month plan. (1800 GMT 31 July)

Fier District: The light and food industry sector overfulfilled its 7-month plan by 10 million leks. (1800 GMT 2 August)

Gjirokaster District: The general industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 1 percent. (1800 GMT 2 July)

Kolonje District: The 7-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 2.4 million leks. (1800 GMT 3 August)

Kruje District: The metallurgical-chemical combine overfulfilled its 7-month plan by 3.7 percent or 7.9 million leks. (1800 GMT 3 August)

Kukes District: The general industrial production plan for the 7-month period was fulfilled by 102 percent or 4 million leks. (1800 GMT 6 August)

Pogradec District: The general industrial production plan was exceeded by 4.3 million leks. (1330 GMT 6 August)

Sarande District: The general industrial production plan for the 7-month period was exceeded by 8 million leks and the productivity increase target was exceeded by 6 percent. (1330 GMT 5 August)

Skrapar District: The overall industrial production plan for the 7-month period was exceeded by 1 million leks. (1800 GMT 4 August)

Tropoje District: The overall 7-month industrial production plan was exceeded by 3 percent and the export plan by 9 percent. (1800 GMT 31 July)

Leaders' Public Appearances 31 Jul-6 Aug 88

AU0608184288 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 31 July-6 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received on 4 August Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of Turkey. (1800 GMT 4 August)

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 2 July Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey. (1800 GMT 2 August)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Shkoder District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 3 August a lunch given in the city of Shkoder in honor of Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey. (1800 GMT 3 August)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended on 2 August a reception at the Turkish Embassy. (2000 GMT 2 August)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee secretary, attended on 3 August a dinner in the city of Durres in honor of Mesut Yilmaz, visiting foreign minister of Turkey. (2000 GMT 3 August)

Update on Balkan Airline Casualties

AU0808180788 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, August 8 (BTA)—Another two of the casualties suffered in the aircraft crash at Sofia airport on August 2 have died. This brings the total death toll to twenty-seven, twenty-three having been killed on the spot and the remaining four having succumbed to their injuries later on.

The two victims who have now died are the Yugoslav citizen Mladen Mitrovic (born in Kumanovo in 1959) and the flight engineer of the aircraft.

The first of the convalescent passengers was discharged from hospital today. He is a Soviet citizen. The nine victims, who remain hospitalized, are all Bulgarian citizens. Of them, one is in critical condition, another one is in serious condition, and the rest are out of danger.

BCP's Stanishev Views New Party Relations

AU0508190888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Aug 88 pp 1, 4, 5

[Article by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "Communists and New Political Thinking"]

[Text] **I recently met and talked to representatives from numerous countries who are visiting Bulgaria—communists, socialists, social democrats, and other political figures belonging to different parties and movements.**

No matter what questions we discussed, attention was always focused on the new political thinking.

We are the witnesses of and participants in exceptionally important events and processes. Crucial moments of history are always best judged from a distance, after a certain time has elapsed; however, even today we are aware that profound, qualitative, and unprecedented changes in the development of society are taking place today, changes that determine the nature of our era as a turning point.

If we try to find a common denominator for some of the fundamentally important events that occurred in recent years—beginning with the launching of the Soviet program for the establishment of a nuclear-free world, the intensification of the Soviet-American dialogue, which led to the conclusion of the INF Treaty and created future prospects for further advance in the disarmament sector, and ending with the restructuring process in all spheres of social life that is taking place in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and other socialist countries, and is assuming an increasingly definite shape and intensity—this common denominator can only be defined as the new political thinking.

The new political thinking is already an accomplished fact. It is producing results—restructuring is gathering momentum, the danger of nuclear war is gradually withdrawing, and the center of international life is shifting from **confrontation to cooperation.** These processes are obviously exerting and will further exert an ever increasing impact on the course of world development. Without searching for an exhaustive, theoretical formula to describe the concept of new political thinking, we can confidently state that it was precisely **the new world, that had been transformed as a result of scientific-technical revolution, it was the new awareness of our role in this world, that determined the requirement for a qualitatively new thinking.**

It is for this reason that we are increasingly getting used to considering the objective state of our contemporary world and our own actions in this world with great realism. This realism, however, requires that we abandon, whenever necessary, the well-trodden paths, the models of development and behaviorial cliches that belong to the past, and to pursue our constant quest for innovation.

It is for this reason that the creative nature of all our intentions and actions is assuming such importance today. This nature demands flexibility and the ability to change our priorities in a timely way, it demands that we should not reject things in advance, but appreciate and use everything that is new and positive in the theoretical experience and practical research of both our friends and our opponents. Along with this, on the basis of a sober analysis of social and practical experience and thought, it is necessary to discover the most appropriate, contemporary solutions for the crucial issues and problems of the world in general, and of socialism in particular. In doing so, we should consider the realities of our contemporary world development without prejudice, to achieve the broadest possible social-class and political understanding, so that the universal problems of mankind may be resolved.

Considered separately, all these approaches, which we now connect with new political thinking, to a certain extent also existed in the past, in both science and practical experience. **However, only now have they been revealed as an integrated inseparable system, set at the basis of a comprehensive political line.** They found their expression in the **bold innovative decisions of the CPSU** on domestic and international problems and in the concordant efforts of the BCP for the implementation of the BCP's July concept, as well as in the innovative changes taking place in the world of socialism, and in the practical experience of contemporary, democratic, mass movements which reflect the chief interest of mankind—namely, to survive in this nuclear century.

The universal threat of the possible annihilation of mankind, which resulted in a new way of accepting the realities of our contemporary world, gave priority to the **moral principles in politics.** Priority is given to the

universally human problems and values today. This signifies that international communications, aimed at guaranteeing the security of each state and at protecting its national interests, is increasingly shifting from the military to the political sphere, based on universally human ethics, on international commitments, and upon every nation's right to select its own path of development.

The dialectic of contemporary development represents a complicated intertwining of revolutionary and evolutionary processes, of progressive and regressive changes, of unity and struggle, of competition, partnership, and cooperation between numerous international forces and factors.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the world has entered a period in which peaceful coexistence between the two social systems is becoming the main form of development in the confrontation between socialism and capitalism. It is evident that in the future these two forms of societies will be forced to adapt themselves to the revolutionary changes occurring in science and technology, to increase their material assets and to distribute them according to their own criteria of justice, while they will be required, to compete and to cooperate with each other, to exchange material and intellectual assets, for their own self-preservation and for the sake of all mankind.

To an ever increasing extent, foreign policy is beginning to correspond to domestic policy processes. Civilized relations, patience, the skill of negotiating with respect for one's partner, and the desire to better understand the balance of interests are the most important aspects of foreign policy today.

The understanding about the prospects of social development in conformity with the realities of our contem porary world by no means signifies that we should renounce the class point of view in analyzing the existing problems. On the contrary; to cite Marx, it signifies that we should combine our ideals of real humanism with the democratic and peace-loving aspirations of all social strata that unite in the defense of universal human interests to rescue civilization.

In this connection, the question of **common values in the workers movement** is becoming increasingly topical.

Regardless of the historically determined differences between communists and social democrats, it would be correct to remember that assets such as labor, employment, wages, social security, and others are of common value for the workers class. Along with shared interests in preserving peace and solving other global problems, it is the common value of assets, and not claims for a monopoly on them, that should serve as a permanent and future-oriented basis for joint actions by the workers movement in the broadest sense. Not one of the ideological and political currents of the workers movement is capable of solving the gigantic problems we are facing today through its own efforts.

In our contemporary intertwined and interdependent world, the **universal human and global problems,** such as human rights, ecological defense, and the multiplication of cultural assets, the efforts to overcome backwardness in development, and other things are becoming increasingly important. Issues of this kind are numerous and the development of society and of technologies will inevitably produce and intensify them. In the past, they frequently represented grounds for ideological confrontation, without involving any specific efforts for a practical solution. In our opinion, new political thinking requires that we transform these values and problems into instruments of constructive and businesslike cooperation. It is therefore necessary to be active and full of initiative, to adopt unmistakable stands, and to seek innovations that should be submitted for discussion. Such a stand would inevitably lead us to a dialogue and—why not? —even to cooperation with the broadest sociopolitical circles in given cases. This should not only apply to the recently expanding dialogue with social democratic parties, but also to relations with liberal and Christian-democratic parties, with religious and ecological movements—in other words, with almost the entire spectrum of worldwide public opinion which is striving for peace, common sense, and good will.

Naturally, the development of our contacts with social democratic parties and other political forces should not be achieved at the expense of dynamic cooperation within the communist movement. We will continue to strive for the consolidation of the communists' role as a vanguard force of our epoch. This can be achieved on the basis of the **ideological-ethical values of our teaching, and on the basis of our practical contribution** to the solution of contemporary problems and, last but not least, through **new forms and standards of civilized communications.**

Naturally, all this is determined by strict observance of the principles of autonomy, equal rights, and independence, by the awareness that true internationalism today is expressed in an increasing sense of responsibility for the common cause.

The scope of the communist movement and the great variety of circumstances and problems require a great variety of forms in cooperation. Activities in this respect were recently intensified, mainly as a result of the fact that we broke up the narrow framework of the traditional concept according to which cooperation should be understood only as unanimity of thought and action, and we took a stand in favor of **more extensive dialogue.**

Our interest in the experience of others is not only determined by the internationalist traditions of the BCP, but also by the fact that, as was pointed out in the July plenum concept, the model of socialism we are building

today is that of an open system. It is open to all innovations which stem from and will stem from experience and from Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought in our country and abroad.

The internationalization of an increasing number of spheres of life not only presupposes increased interest in the development of cooperation, but also requires the quest for new forms of enriching cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

Naturally, under the present circumstances of innovation, we devote the greatest attention to an exchange of experience and the development of cooperation with fraternal parties in the socialist countries. Having emerged under different historical and national conditions, the world of socialism today is searching for methods and forms of social development that conform to our contemporary epoch. The intensifying restructuring process is laying down the basis of the efforts to develop new international experience, in which every party and country should make its own contribution and, along with this, should have the opportunity of using the experience of others.

The **international character of restructuring** is increasingly asserting itself. Common features are developing. Restructuring is being conducted in an increasingly comprehensive manner, affecting both the basis and the superstructure. Restructuring is implemented by the leading parties on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of integral and indivisible socialist property, within the framework of socialist values.

The regular meetings of main party leaders from socialist countries, the conferences of leading representatives from the fraternal parties on organizational, economic, international, ideological, and other issues have asserted themselves and are acquiring greater content.

The joint efforts of the BCP and the CPSU at different levels, aimed at directing, encouraging, and consolidating progressive forms of joint work, such as joint enterprises, joint collectives for the development of special problems, and so forth, are constantly increasing. Today, we can already say that some of these forms are future-oriented, that they contain elements of a full, socialist integration. A joint BCP-PZPR inter-party commission for integrated party control over the comprehensive relations between the two countries is already operating successfully. Naturally, the future will tell us whether it will be necessary to further develop or change this form of cooperation, but for the time being it is useful.

Various regional conferences of communist parties have developed dynamically in recent years. They represent a very useful form of exchanging experience and resolving specific issues in the framework of certain regions—such as the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Asian-Pacific zone, and so forth. They simultaneously express the growing need for an active and constructive dialogue, and the mutual interaction of communists from various countries.

In our opinion, the idea submitted by the CPSU to convene an all-European meeting for peace, disarmament, and cooperation with the participation of the broadest political and social forces from all over the continent deserves special attention. The tripartite initiative of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the MSZMP, and the Italian Socialist Party for strengthening cooperation among European nonnuclear states is in accordance with this idea. We also appreciate the businesslike and useful discussion on problems of common interest which was established between the BCP, the SED, the MSZMP, and the social democratic parties of the Netherlands, Denmark, and Belgium.

As a ruling party, the BCP is simultaneously aware that, to avert nuclear war and solve the global problems of mankind, for the sake of consolidating the dialogue on the basis of equal rights and ethics in the international sphere, it is necessary to establish and develop relations with influential bourgeois-democratic and other parties, and movements. The role played by contacts between noncommunist parties in socialist countries—and this particularly applies to the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union in our country—and affiliated parties in the nonsocialist world is specially useful for seeking new methods of solving the fundamental problems of our epoch.

The journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM deserves some attention. It is the only recent forum for exchanging opinions among communist parties on an extensive, international scale. At the April 1988 Prague meeting, devoted to discussions about the work of the journal, several critical remarks were addressed to it and proposals were submitted for restructuring its theoretical-topic and organizational activities. The beginning of the development of a **new spirit and a new approach** to the issues in question clearly emerged at this meeting. The new approach is expressed in a profoundly analytical awareness of the complexity of phenomena, in the striving to elucidate the new problems, and a creative search for unconventional solutions, as well as for a frank and open discussion of specific issues. This evidently reflects a process of revival and innovation in numerous fraternal parties, as well as within the international communist movement as a whole.

A powerful accelerator of this development lies in the processes taking place in the socialist countries. They are exceptionally important for the communist and workers' movements, as well as for democratic movements throughout the world. It is a well-known fact that the historical achievements of the USSR following World War II, and of the socialist system as a whole, were accompanied by an upsurge in the communist and workers movement throughout the world. Vice-versa;

difficulties and crisis situations in socialist countries exerted a negative effect upon the situation and future prospects of this movement. The consequences of the stagnation phenomena which emerged over the last decades and contributed to weakening the force of attraction, the example, and the ideas of socialism, were particularly grave. As a matter of fact, several parties in nonsocialist countries failed to correctly evaluate the existing situation in full, and the process of their adaptation to the new circumstances was difficult.

Hence, the conclusion that **the innovative processes in the socialist countries, which are developing in accordance with their national conditions, and the critical analysis of the shortcomings of the past are of great importance for the communist movement all over the world.**

The situation in the USSR, as the leading socialist country, determined the historic importance of restructuring in Soviet society for the future of socialism, peace, and progress on a world scale.

At the BCP National Conference in January 1988 our party once more stressed the basic coincidence of tasks and trends in the restructuring which is taking place both in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Several fraternal countries also felt the fresh breeze of new thinking. They submit their actions to critical reevaluation and are increasingly adapting themselves to the new realities, in seeking specific tasks, and peculiar issues which are imposed by the contemporary stage of development. The reflection of restructuring processes within the communist movement, however, is not uniform. Some people accept it with scepticism, they still do not believe in the irreversible and intensive nature of restructuring processes. Others, who have so far supported us wholeheartedly, are now confused and see a danger of an erosion of socialism in restructuring, judging it through the prism of old cliches and stereotypes. However, the innovation of socialism as a whole inspires the communist parties in the nonsocialist world and creates a more favorable atmosphere for their work.

Over the last decades, the interest, friendly feelings, and support for the foreign and domestic policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries has never been as strong as today. A new atmosphere has been created which is favorable for those social, ideological, and political forces which are striving for an active, democratic alternative. The meeting of political parties and movements which participated in the celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a turning point in this respect.

All this determines the great attention with which the world followed the work of the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference. The implementation of its decisions will make it possible to turn revolutionary restructuring into an intense and irreversible process. This will inevitably strengthen the role of socialism in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress throughout the world.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, "in the spirit of new political thinking, we are asserting new visions of the world and new views on the values of contemporary human civilization, visions that conform to the new realities, and all people are making their contributions to the development of this cause.

The BCP has adopted a course of revolutionary restructuring in all fields of life. We are aware that this is an exceptionally complicated process, that our responsibility toward the people and history is tremendous. This is because the decisive front of restructuring is the domestic one. Only if we are able to implement this great initiative can we be successful on the international scene and build a solid basis for the intensification of our international solidarity, can we make our real contribution to a lasting improvement in the world atmosphere. **This is the criterion of our responsibility toward ourselves and toward the forces of peace and progress, as well as toward all mankind.**

'Virtually Unsalable' Machines Shown in Moscow

AU0808142588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Aug p 3

[Jan Tihlarik Moscow dispatch: "We Exhibit Much, But..."]

[Excerpts] Moscow (from our correspondent)— Soviet economists now call machinery, equipment, and technological processes for light industry the arsenal of the most important national economic branch. Businessmen in the world know why the USSR regards this industry as the most important one and they have brought to Moscow, to the ongoing Inlegmash 88 international exhibition, what they would like to sell to a reliable trading partner.

Some 650 firms from 23 countries display in the Sokolniky and Krasnaya Presnya exhibition pavilions what might help the Soviet Union make headway in implementing the comprehensive program for developing the production of consumer goods and the sphere of services. [passage omitted]

Our exports to the Soviet Union of machinery and equipment for the light industry represent a handsome sum. We export more than R400 million worth of equipment for the textile, apparel, leather-processing, footwear, and furrier's industry. Last year, however, this sum fell. Why? Well, Italian, Japanese, West German, Swiss, Austrian, and other companies offer more than high quality and reliability, which we, too, are able to supply in many cases. They also offer the needed number of machines.

A country of the size of the Soviet Union is a reliable partner. Yet even the kindest soul in the world of business that is about to retool its domestic light industry will not spend long years waiting for machinery that we are able to supply to him by the dozen when he needs thousands of them. Naturally, the international tender is won by those who are able to accommodate the Soviets. It is simple math. Some people may retort how a small country like Czechoslovakia can conclude contracts for such big volumes. Just like other small countries. They produce what they are good at producing and abandon the absurd notion of self-reliance in the entire range of products, from pins to locomotives. [passage omitted]

This is by no means a new idea. Such changes, structural changes, have been talked about for a long time. But only talked about. At international exhibitions, such as the one in Moscow, our trade representatives then find out that our machinery is virtually unsalable. Not, perhaps, because of inferior quality but because, being up to our ears in work on thousands of different types of merchandise, we do not have enough strength left for what we could sell to the satisfaction of our good clients, but also to the satisfaction of ourselves.

The ANGE 5 small-diameter knitting machine from the Elitex Trebic plant ranks without any doubt among the top exhibits at the Moscow fair. It is an outstanding means of payment on foreign markets. But it is still being manufactured in short production runs, whereas the world is offering dollars and rubles for hundreds and thousands of units.

Sabina, a product of the same plant, has attracted Soviet, but also other experts' great interest. The machine produces tights, which are much sought after in the Soviet Union. Appreciation has also been expressed for Jettis, a pneumatic weaving machine from the Zbrojovka plant in Vsetin. But the machines of dozens of other manufacturers from capitalist countries, which have the advantage of being available to the Soviet customer immediately and in the required numbers, have also been admired. This advantage could be felt at the Moscow exhibition. Only a foolish person can believe that seasoned businessmen will pass up such a chance.

Our last year's exports to the USSR of machinery for the light industry were more than 5 percent lower than in 1986. This happened at a time when the Soviet Union is seeking suppliers of machinery, equipment, and technological processes for light industry, to transform its strong social policy into a sufficient amount of good quality consumer goods, which are still in short supply on the market. We exhibit much, but there is no reason at all to be satisfied.

DPRK Ambassador on Olympics, Unification

AU0808142188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Aug 88 p 2

["KOV"-signed report: "DPRK Ambassador to CSSR Gives Press Conference; Let Us Transform Ceasefire Agreement Into Peace Treaty"]

[Text] Prague (Our Correspondent)— Our country is striving to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula and for a peace agreement to replace the existing ceasefire agreement. We have therefore sent a proposal for talks to the U.S. Congress and the South Korean parliament, Kim Kwang-sop, DPRK ambassador to the CSSR, stressed at a press conference in Prague on Friday [5 August].

He recalled the extensive proposal contained in Comrade Kim Il-song's New Year's message, with which the DPRK launched an initiative aimed at broadly-based talks between the North and South, attended by representatives of the governments, parliaments, political parties, and social organizations. This initiative has met with a positive response in the world.

The prerequisite for the peace agreement is the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean peninsula; this means more than 40,000 American soldiers. The representatives of the DPRK's highest legislative body have therefore turned to the U.S. Congress, and also to the

South Korean parliament, with a proposal to conduct talks on a future peace agreement. No response has been received yet from the United States, whereas some deputies of opposition political parties in the South Korean parliament welcome the possibility of talks between the North and the South. And because the opposition has the majority in the Seoul parliament, there is a hope that the proposal will gain even greater support than has been the case to date.

The DPRK ambassador said that if the talks were held before the end of August, it would be possible to discuss the nonaggression declaration submitted by the DPRK, as well as holding the Olympic Games jointly by the North and the South, and thus also the possible participation by DPRK athletes in the Olympic Games. Here the need to reduce the tension on the peninsula plays a great role, and the adoption of a joint declaration on nonaggression between the North and the South has to serve precisely this end. In the declaration the two sides would pledge in no case to use military force against the other side, not to interfere in the affairs of the other side, to resolve conflicts by peaceful means, transform the military demarcation zone of 27 July 1953 into a nonaggression line, gradually reduce the number of their military forces, withdraw foreign troops from the peninsula, and establish on both sides of the nonaggression line a zone which would prevent possible military clashes.

The DPRK is of the opinion that the tension in the region must be reduced first, and then one can begin cooperating and exchanging delegations and personalities.

Answering journalists' questions, the ambassador said that there is hope for holding talks in August and that this depends to a great extent on the attitudes of the United States and South Korea. The North is prepared to follow the worldwide trend to resolve contentious issues by negotiations, such as the case of Cambodia, southern Africa, the Iraq-Iran conflict, or the situation around Afghanistan. At the same time, the DPRK takes into account the yearning of the Korean people for the peaceful unification of the country, and wants to do everything in its power to achieve this.

Details on Approved Desulfurization Program

AU0508154488 [Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 3 August on page 1 carries a 400-word "GER"-signed dispatch, entitled "Consistently Against Emissions." The dispatch reports on a press conference given by Ladislav Blazek, CSSR deputy minister of fuels and power, in Prague on 2 August, in which he provided information on the desulfurization program which the CSSR Government approved on 26 July. Blazek's press conference is also the subject of a 1,000-word article by Pavel Paral, entitled "Desulfurization—Vital Necessity," published by Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 August on page 1.

According to the PRACE dispatch, under an international pledge signed in 1985, Czechoslovakia is to lower annual emissions of sulfur dioxide from 3.1 million tonnes in 1980 to 2.17 million tonnes in 1995, that is, by 930,000 tonnes. Since a cut by only about 350,000 to 400,000 tonnes of emissions can be expected from energy conservation and from the substitution of nuclear power and natural gas for sulfuric fuels, the remaining 530,000 to 580,000 tonnes must be eliminated by the construction of desulfurization equipment. The desulfurization program reportedly concerns the following major sources of air pollution—the Tusimice II, Prunerov II, Tisova, Pocerady, Novaky, Melnik I, and Chvaletice coal-burning power stations, the Vresova fuel combine, and the Litvinov Chemical Works. The implementation of the program is said to require investments of approximately Kcs10.6 billion, of which Kcs1.5 billion are to be spent in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The RUDE PRAVO article focuses on the technical aspects of the desulfurization program. According to Paral, two different technologies will be used, both of them imported. The first technology, the Soviet regenerative magnesite technology, is already being tested at the Tusimice II power station and should go into regular operation by 30 June 1989. The same technology will be used to desulfurize the Prunerov II power station. The second desulfurization technology to be applied in Czechoslovakia, the wet limestone technology, will be imported from the FRG. The contract for the first such desulfurizer, to be installed at the Pocerady power station, was signed on 29 July with the West German firms Saarberg, Hoelter, and Lurgi. Czechoslovak enterprises are to have a 50-percent share in the supplies. At the same time, negotiations have reportedly started between the Prerov Engineering Works and the aforementioned FRG firms on the creation of a joint venture that would supply desulfurization equipment for other Czechoslovak power stations (Chvaletice, Novaky), as well as for third markets. Paral adds that, besides big sources of pollution, sources of local pollution are also to be desulfurized within the framework of the program. He reports, for example, that Czechoslovakia seeks the development of fluid-combustion boilers for its heating plants. A "preliminary agreement" on the development of such boilers for the Trmice heating plant has reportedly been signed by the Skoda concern with the West German firm Deutsche Babock.

Machinery Cooperation With USSR Discussed
AU0808142988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—On Thursday [4 July], Rudi Georgi, GDR Minister for construction of machine tools and processing machinery, concluded a several-day visit to Moscow. The talks with Nikolay Panichev, minister for machine tool and tool building industry; Vladimir Velichko, minister for power machine building; and Boris Belousov, minister for machine building, served as an exchange of experience and to further strengthen the relations for cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the fields of tool, textile, and printing machine construction. The implementing of direct relations between enterprises, combines, and associations in the two countries was one of the central questions of the talks.

During his stay in the Soviet capital, Minister Georgi visited the "Inlegmash 88" exhibition, a special international exhibition on textile industry equipment.

CC Sends Condolences to Bulgaria on Plane Crash
AU0508120688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 88 p 1

[ND report: "Condolences on Plane Crash in Bulgaria"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, I convey to you my deepest sympathy for the terrible plane crash in Sofia.

Please convey to the families of those who lost their lives in the accident our sincere condolences, and to the injured our best wishes for their recovery.

Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Honecker Greets SRV State Council Chairman
AU0808123488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Aug 88 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations on Vo Chi Cong's 75th Birthday; Erich Honecker's Telegram to SRV State Council Chairman"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV State Council and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam:

Esteemed Comrade Vo Chi Cong:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, I convey to you most cordial congratulations on your 75th birthday.

With your long-standing revolutionary activities as a party functionary and as the leading representative of the SRV, you have gained great merit in the work for your people's national and social liberation, and for the building of socialism. The GDR feels gratitude and respect for your work to further deepen the fraternal relations between our parties, states, and peoples.

I take this opportunity to wish you good health, creative energy, and further success for the benefit of the Vietnamese people.

Erich Honecker,

general Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

FRG Environmental Protection Policy Criticized
AU0808134088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Aug 88 p 2

["W. Sp." commentary: "Against His Better Judgment"]

[Text] FRG Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer recently visited the GDR. He reciprocated the visit of his GDR counterpart, Hans Reichelt, to the FRG. Minister Toepfer was able to convince himself right on the spot of the GDR's varied environmental protection measures. On this occasion, the representatives of the two German states discussed questions of further cooperation in this area that is so important for the people. In this connection, the ministers pointed to a number of successes, which are based on the agreement between the GDR and the FRG that was signed on the occasion of Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG last fall.

Now, what is it that makes the FRG environment minister provoke the GDR and accuse it of a lack of cooperation in, for instance, protecting the North Sea? All the world knows that, apart from Great Britain, the FRG is the one state that pollutes this sea the most. According to information from the Bonn Environment Ministry, it is responsible for 54 percent of the phosphate pollution and for 36 percent regarding nitrates. Furthermore, 160,000 tonnes of heavy metals, 1 million tonnes of weak acid, and more than 100,000 tonnes of chlorinated hydrogen come from the same source. Even the experts at Bonn's Environment Ministry stress that compared with this, the release of pollutants from the GDR via the Elbe River into the North Sea is small.

In addition, over the past years modern municipal and industrial purification plants have been built in the GDR along many water-courses, in particular those that run into the Elbe River. Since 1982 the pollution of rivers and lakes

has been reduced by an amount that corresponds to the annual amount of waste water from the households of more than 7 million inhabitants. This is a benefit—both directly and indirectly—to the Elbe River, and thus to the North Sea. It is not proof of great expert knowledge to try to blame the GDR for North Sea pollution afterwards. It is also not proof of goodwill for cooperation on the part of the FRG environment minister.

Regarding the FRG environment minister's statements that the GDR is trying to link cooperation in environmental protection with general political questions, such as the fixing of the border-line along the Elbe, this, too, turns the matter upside down. It is not the GDR's demand—which is supported by international law—to finally fix the borderline in the middle of the river, but the stubborn attitude of certain people in the FRG that continues to put stumbling blocks into the path of jointly protecting this border river.

Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Advocated

AU0808125988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water was concluded on 5 August 1963 as the result of trilateral negotiations between the USSR, Great Britain, and the United States, and since 8 August 1963 all countries have been invited to sign it. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Moscow treaty, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared in Berlin:

As the first nuclear arms limitation treaty, the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water was an important milestone on the road toward disarmament. For a quarter of a century it has helped reduce radioactive pollution of the earth and strengthen the regime of nonproliferation of nuclear arms.

The GDR was one of the first countries to join the Moscow treaty. The GDR has always been guided by the conviction that the cessation of nuclear weapons tests would contribute decisively to end the nuclear arms race, and to prevent its extension to space. As it newly emphasized at the Warsaw Pact meeting of the Political Consultative Committee last July, the GDR, together with the other Warsaw Pact countries, considers the complete and general ban of nuclear weapons tests of primary importance. The GDR proceeds on the assumption that negotiations between the USSR and the United States concerning nuclear weapons tests can be conducive to achieving this objective.

A comprehensive test ban requires the efforts of all countries. Together with the large majority of states, the GDR supports the establishment of multilateral negotiations on a comprehensive test ban at the Geneva disarmament conference. The "basic rules of a treaty on the complete and general ban of nuclear weapons tests," presented by the socialist countries in 1987, are a good starting point for such a move. Proposals such as the Six State Initiative for monitoring a halt to nuclear weapons tests, and the project of the nonaligned countries to transform the 1963 Moscow treaty into a comprehensive nuclear weapons test ban treaty are important contributions to the worldwide struggle for disarmament and security. Special responsibility must be attributed to those states that have nuclear arms. The GDR considers the USSR's willingness to return to its moratorium if the United States, for its part, puts an end to nuclear explosions, to be a step based on reason and realism to end the nuclear arms race, and a step toward achieving a nuclear-free world.

NATO Hesitation at Disarm Proposals Impugned

AU0808143788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "This Is Also True for Disarmament: Where There's a Will, There's a Way..."]

[Text] Certain NATO circles respond with a drawn-out "yes" to the proposals for a reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, made by the states participating in the Warsaw Pact, and then immediately continue with a "but": First we want action. Others say: The new initiative has taken the West by surprise. It cannot respond so quickly.

Let us first look at the matter of action. What does one expect? That the allied socialist countries unilaterally implement their proposals, which—of course—were made for both sides? Only reduce armed forces and arms in the East, so to speak, while the West retains its arsenals, which—according to an FRG weekly—do not consist only of blank cartridges?

No; it takes both sides for disarmament. And, if there are reservations as to existing imbalances, by abolishing such imbalances, equal, lower ceilings are to be achieved, from which further reductions can be made to the level of an exclusively defensive capability. Zones of reduced arms level, exchange of information, and mutual checks would forestall the danger of surprise attacks.

What action is really required? To sit down at the negotiation table. Exactly as we have proposed, and in 1988. And to get started.

A few words about "surprise." Let us not speculate with people's forgetfulness. As early as June 1986, in Budapest, the Political Consultative Committee presented a large-scale proposal for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. NATO did not respond. The Berlin summit in May 1987 launched a new initiative in this respect. NATO did not respond. Now, after Warsaw,

NATO pretends to be so surprised that it cannot react quickly? How often does a constructive proposal have be repeated and newly specified before one is able to respond?

This sterile position is gradually even embarrassing many politicians in the West. There are calls from all corners: NATO badly needs an outline for disarmament talks. Even if only for "not staring at the 'Warsaw Pact serpent' like a detente rabbit, a serpent, which has considerably more proposals to offer"—according to Walter Kolbow, deputy chairman of the FRG Bundestag Defense Committee. Even NATO Secretary General Woerner believes that one can "no longer wait until the West's complete plan for disarmament is finally drawn up," but that proposals are still required this year.

Of course, disarmament is not something that can be achieved overnight. It is a complicated issue. But were things not complicated with intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, too? And action followed, nevertheless. As to the USSR-U.S. treaty: After thorough mutual inspection and checks on location by each side, the destruction of the first of these missiles is already under way. After all, where there's a will, there's a way...

Grain Harvest Progress Reported
AU0808122688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Aug 88 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—The cooperative peasants and workers in LPG's and on state-owned farms have harvested grain on 1,254,296 hectares. This represents 51.7 percent of the cultivated land. Due to weather conditions, about two-thirds of the grain has already been harvested in the bezirks of Cottbus, Frankfurt (Oder), Potsdam, and Leipzig. In the plains the harvest is in full swing, and more than half of the grain has already been harvested. In the mountainous areas, certain larger fields of wheat, summer barley, and oats are not yet ready for threshing. In Erfurt and Gera bezirke, one-third of the cultivated land has already been harvested, and in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Suhl bezirks the harvest has been concluded on one quarter of the land. The state plan for rapeseed has been overfulfilled.

After mowing and the straw harvest, the majority of the fields have already been cultivated with summer catch crops. These crops, which enrich the fodder stocks of the cooperatives and improve the soil, grow on about 550,000 hectares. That is more than half of the planned area for cultivation. [passage omitted]

Daily on Importance of Ideological Work
AU0808163688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Aug 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "What Is in a Statement"]

[Text] Asked what he regarded as his most important mission, Horst Schunke, secretary of the Soemmerda City Assembly SED party group, told us: "The mission is to ensure that all comrade deputies work to help prepare, implement, and monitor government decisions with commitment and creativity for the well-being of the citizens."

This short statement contains a lot. In the prelude to the party elections, it expresses quite a few fundamental truths. It underlines the role and responsibility of all comrades. They are in the forefront when the tasks put forward by the 11th SED Congress have to be tackled. Thus, they strengthen our allied parties' and mass organizations' confidence in the SED's policy.

How the forms and methods of socialist democracy are being used and extended becomes visible. The Soemmerda party group secretary points out what really matters in the work of the deputies: to do everything for the well-being of the people, for the happiness of the people, for the interest of the workers class and all working people in accordance with the principles of socialism.

What also matters is: to leave no one behind; to explain the party's policy to the citizens in confidential talks, and to openly answer all their questions regarding things big and small; and to include everybody in preparing measures for enterprises and communities at an early stage. It is important to state clearly what is possible and what is not yet possible; why something was achieved here which still has to be done there; where the obstacles and difficulties lie that can be overcome by common effort. What matters is vigorously implementing and monitoring resolutions and decisions by the state once they have been made. This encourages new initiatives.

Did we overinterpret the statement quoted at the beginning? In his talk to us, which we published last Wednesday, Comrade Schunke gave an explanation of his statement, discussing even the details of the work of the City Assembly, its committees, and groups of deputies, and even details such as regional rationalization, housing construction, children's facilities, and catering.

Important to us is that he always speaks of the lively contact with the citizens, of neighborhood assemblies, and of talks within families—in other words, of ideological work. This work—and the conversation in Soemmerda is proof of that—remains the essential part of party work.

Trade Relations With Romania Reviewed
LD0808122988 Budapest MTI in English 1158 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 8, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Romania is making a special point of keeping political disputes out of the sphere of economic contacts, said Mr Laszlo Konya, department head at the Ministry of Trade, who attended a meeting between high-ranking officials of the trade ministries of the two countries in Bucharest end of July.

Both countries are interested in developing economic relations, said the ministry official, adding that Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei stressed the same point in Bucharest. Romania intends to sign next year's trade protocol with Hungary as first among the COMECON members.

Last year Hungarian-Romanian trade was balanced, with totally 618 million roubles worth of goods exchanged. At current prices the increase over the previous year was 16 per cent. In fact the growth of Hungary's trade was the biggest with Romania.

The 1988 inter-governmental trade protocol envisages deliveries worth 655 million roubles. Contracts cover 87 per cent of the planned turnover. Hungarian export in the first half was 129 million roubles (1987, 1st half: 152 million roubles) and import 161 million roubles (1987, 1st half: 141 million roubles), which leaves a temporary Hungarian trade deficit.

Engineering deliveries are to be boosted in the first place, and more Dacia cars are to be imported. As a result of the recent talks, some 40,000 more Dacia cars are to be imported, as compared to the contracted figure of 36,500. Deliveries are following the schedule well, in the first half of the year 24,000 Dacias entered the country.

The long-term 1986-1990 trade agreement envisages a turnover of 607 million roubles for next year, but both sides consider it realistic to exceed that figure. Hungary submitted the Romanian party a list of the products it would be ready to buy over the quotas in June, and received a similar list from the Romanian party recently. Romania wants to buy machines for some 50 million roubles and other Hungarian products for another 20 million roubles over the pre-stipulated quotas. Obviously both lists are only tentative.

Official on Soviet Information Agreement
LD0808224788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1705 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Interview with Sandor Balagh, director of the MSZMP History Institute, by unidentified presenter—date and place not specified; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The guest in our studio is Sandor Balogh, recently appointed director of the Party History Institute. At the end of last week he signed a cooperation agreement, in the company of Gyorgy Aczel, with the director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the CPSU Central Committee. What is the aim of this agreement?

[Balogh] It concerns two things. Partly it concerns new areas, and partly more effective access to areas which have already been touched upon, if I may use this phrase.

[Presenter] I think the phrase, more effective access, in historical research means access to sources.

[Balogh] Precisely, this concerns sources which can hardly be estimated at present. What it means is that the sources of Komintern will open up institutionally to Hungarian researchers in history. Without these sources it is really impossible to paint a credible picture of the history of the Hungarian communist movement between the two world wars. These sources, either the originals or copies, will be brought home

[Presenter] So let us reverse the question: Why is it now, at the beginning of 1988, that the Soviet party provides Hungarian researchers access to documents described as confidential until now? It is, after all, quite obvious that you will now be able to familiarize yourselves closely with the files of Bela Kun, Matyas Rakosi, and other tragic leaders of the Hungarian emigration.

[Balogh] I think this can be closely linked to the two expressions we know as glasnost and perestroyka; that is, with Gorbachev-style politics, if you like.

[Presenter] Did Hungarian researchers have no access to these sources until now?

[Balogh] Well, hardly any.

[Presenter] What was the reason for this?

[Balogh] Well, there are many reasons. One of the reasons is whether the sources of modern hsitory can be researched, and if so, how? Another reason is whether the sources are in order.

[Presenter] What are the questions that in recent history have been regarded as blank spots and can now be researched?

[Balogh] I would say that we are historically fortunate that there are no severe problems in bilateral relations, compared with Polish-Soviet relations. But there are some very serious problems. for example, one might ask. During the World War II, when a Czechoslovak or Romanian legion were formed, why was a Hungarian legion not formed? Obviously we can seek an answer to this. I am convinced that we shall be given a more objective answer than before to questions such as who bombed Kassa.

But let us move on to questions after the liberation. In this regard one can speak of the Soviet-Hungarian longer-term economic agreement signed on 27 August 1945. For a long time only one agreement has been known to the general public, although two agreements were signed. A regular trade agreement was signed, which really did help the Hungarian economy at that time, and a longer-term economic cooperation agreement was also signed which, I need not tell you, had a very debatable effect on the Hungarian national economy. So it had an influence which it is not certain was desirable. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] How much sovereignty, independence, do you have in this research and in determining lines of research? We have read that Khrushchev's secret speech was published 3 weeks after Gorbachev's visit. In our country memoirs and collections of documents which were kept in the stores for 10-15 years are now appearing. Pasternak's DOCTOR ZHIVAGO could only be published after it appeared in the USSR. I detect some kind of following, Moscow-watching.

[Balogh] I do not think this is the only question. Naturally, this is one of the questions. I think, and this is part of reality, that if the leaders of a small nation cannot assess the realities of an international situation, then they may endanger the nation's existence. So, to be able to become oriented means to be able to exist. [passage omitted]

USSR's Georgiy Smirnov Continues Visit

LD0808202588 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—Georgiy Smirnov, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, paid an official visit to Hungary August 1 to 8, on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. On the last day of his working programme, Georgiy Smirnov met Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Lenard Pal, secretary of the Central Committee. In the course of open and sincere discussions, exchanges were held on timely issues of building socialism, and cooperation between the two parties in the field of ideology. The sides agreed that the need to research the political and ideological issues related to the renewal of socialism, and to intensify cooperation between Hungarian and Soviet experts has increased on the basis of the internal process taking place in Hungary and the Soviet Union. The conditions are also favourable to explore and utilize the historical experiences of Hungarian-Soviet relations.

In the course of his official visit Georgiy Smirnov met Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Georgiy Smirnov held talks with Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee and head of he Foreign Affairs Department of the CC, Jeno Andics, head of the CC's Agitation and Propaganda Department, and Katalin Radics, head of the Scientific, Cultural and Public Education Department of the CC.

At talks with Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Central Committee and director of the Social Sciences Institute, and Sandor Balogh, director of the Party History Institute, the sides reviewed the state of cooperation between the concerned institutes and signed an agreement on developing relations. Pal Romany, member of the Central Committee and the rector of the political college, held talks with Georgiy Smirnov on timely issues of social sciences research and education. Georgiy Smirnov met Valeria Benke, editor-in-chief of "TARSADALMI SZEMLE" (social review).

Georgiy Smirnov, who is also chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, held talks with Antal Apro, chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (HSFS), and Gyula Biro, general secretary of the society. He was briefed on the activity of the central organs of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society and visited a HSFS collective in the Hungarian optical works.

Georgiy Smirnov is to spend a part of his holidays at Lake Balaton before leaving Hungary.

More on Grosz Meeting With Outgoing GDR Envoy

AU0508123788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Budapest—On Wednesday [3 August] in Budapest, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, received GDR Ambassador Karl-Heinz Lugenheim for his farewell visit. In the course of their talk, the leading Hungarian politician paid tribute to the overall continuous development and the high level of the fraternal relations between the two parties, states, and peoples. He asked the ambassador to convey his cordial greetings to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as well as to Willy Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. During their conversation Karoly Grosz said that he is looking forward to his visit to the GDR in September. He said that he is convinced that the talks will contribute to further deepening the mutually beneficial relations.

Ivanyi Hosts Bonn Mayor Daniels on Visit

LD0908084988 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—As reported, Hans Daniels, mayor of Bonn, who arrived in Budapest Sunday on the invitation of Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and president of the Budapest Municipal Council,

started his Monday programme with a sight-seeing tour. First he and his wife made a short walk in the Buda castle and then visited the basilica.

In the morning the mayor and his wife met Pal Ivanyi in his office. The more than two-hour talks, which were considerably longer than planned, were attended by Hans Alfred Steger, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Hungary.

On the discussion, Pal Ivanyi said the following to MTI: "Mr Daniels inquired first of all about the hitherto results of the Hungarian economic and political reform and further plans. He requested information on the election system and its expected amendment, as well as the organization and operation of the councils, and showed interest in the changes of the banking system, the experience from the introduction of the tax system, the basic principles of the partnership law under preparation, the planned modification of the Constitution and the council act and the preparations for the enaction of the association and assembly rights.

"Mr Daniels outlined the sources and use of the budget of Bonn, and gave a briefing on the enforcement of the assembly right and the social-welfare measures taken in his town."

Pal Ivanyi accepted an invitation to the FRG for the celebrations marking the 2000th anniversary of Bonn, and the related Hungarian week series.

Youth Official Comments on MIOT Role

LD0808232288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Summary] [Istvan Stumpf] chairman of the preparatory committee of the National Council of Hungarian Youth [MIOT], gave an interview to Hungarian Radio during which he made the following remarks:

[Begin Stumpf recording] "One of the functions of MIOT should be to ensure that the questions of what political role individual organizations have, what attractions they have what problems they can solve, and what effect they can have on youth should be answered in open debate.

"So beyond wanting to be a forum for harmonizing interests, MIOT wants to be a sovereign, independent forum of Hungarian youth where open internal debate should decide where someone's place should be in politics, rather than assigning places on the political platform to individuals by administrative qualifications.

"I think youth is in such a bad situation today, and its future is so uncertain, that there is a certain need for an integrating forum within which concensus can be reached within youth." [end recording]

Relations With U.S., Positive Changes Viewed

AU0508140888 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Aug 88 p 5

[Article by Ryszard Bankowicz: "Poland-United States: Without Prejudices"]

[Excerpts] Emotions are not normally the best source of advice in shaping international relations or formulating appraisals of them. Much emotion has surrounded mutual Polish-American relations during recent years. This has been the case on both sides and has distorted the true picture of relations between Washington and Warsaw. These emotions have, above all—in my opinion this is primarily true of Poland—given rise to unrealistic assumptions and created illusions that are deceptive, but nevertheless very much a part of public opinion.

It has to be realized that mutual relations hold a different degree of importance for each of the partners. Viewed from Warsaw, the United States is seen as being economically and politically the most powerful state in the West; a state whose stance—whether it is hostile or positively disposed toward cooperation—not only determines whether Poland can engage in direct cooperation with America, which is something that it needs so badly today, but also influences the position of other Western states and of international financial organizations. For various reasons, they all look to Washington for guidance, and what they see or hear there not only determines the tenor of what they want to tell the Poles, but also, as is more often the case, the content of what they say as well.

The United States can manage perfectly well without expanding economic cooperation with Poland, because even at its height, it only represented an insignificant and marginal part of America's trade with foreign countries. [passage omitted]

The United States—this is what members of the Polish delegation were told directly and what journalists learned second hand—supports a strong and economically healthy Poland, because this lies in the interest of the world. Today, the characteristic features of our relations are openness, a readiness to remove mutual prejudices, and a desire to understand each other. This creates a good basis for reestablishing confidence between Warsaw and Washington, which is something that Wojciech Jaruzelski described as essential in the interview that he gave to USA TODAY.

Seasoned observers of Polish-American relations and the many periods of tension that they have gone through in recent years nevertheless see a danger to what is being built on what is now a more lasting foundation. The Polish Government is well aware of the need to link reform-oriented undertakings in the economy to changes in the political life of the country, but it is also a fact that official circles in Washington will not stop treating relations with Poland as a lever to exert pressure aimed at encouraging moves in increasingly new directions. Replying to a question from THE NEW YORK TIMES' David Binder, Minister Olechowski said: "Poland needs its American partner to display realism. Without this realism, it is impossible to free our relations from evolving in a way that is determined by the changing course of events and rash assessments of them, and to prevent relations from being subject to sudden shifts in feeling or being used as a form of leverage. Poles have a high opinion of the views of their American partners, but they nevertheless think that the models and symbols that they favor do not suit Poland, and they wish to shape the country's development in their own way."

These are facts that should be taken into consideration in Polish-American relations. The current climate, which is favorable for our relations, provides grounds for believing that such hopes are not unfounded.

Commentary Views Foreign Trade Performance

PM0808124588 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Jul 88 p 3

[Henryk Nykiel commentary: "No Time For Forty Winks: Exporters Happy, But..."]

[Text] The institutional solutions and economic mechanisms applied in our foreign trade have been proving increasingly effective. Last year the value of Polish exports to the countries of the second payments area for the first time exceeded $7 billion. There are many indications that this year our sales of goods and services in those markets will be worth nearly $8 billion. Given that the high export rate achieved in 1987 was largely the result of the fall in the exchange rate of the U.S. currency, this year we have recorded a real increase in our exports to the Western countries.

There is no doubt that the mechanisms applied over the past 2 years have encouraged enterprises and manufacturers to take an increased interest in exports. After the introduction of floating exchange rates for hard currencies most producers find it far more profitable to sell their goods abroad than domestically. Additional incentives to sell goods abroad are provided by hard currency allowances on enterprises' foreign sales returns as well as concessions on corporation tax and the tax on wages above the normative limit, although it should be stressed that since 1 January these concessions have been much reduced in comparison to last year's rates. The widespread practice whereby subcontractors demand a proportion of their payment in hard currencies has led to a situation in which many producers are virtually forced to export their products, often at the expense of domestic consumers. We have reached a situation in which materials, components, and parts which are in short supply on the domestic market are often sold abroad. This, in turn, makes it necessary to import them for the domestic consumer, paying higher prices for them as a rule. Such commercial practices are not to our advantage. They are

tantamount to selling out our national income. In any case, the question of production costs and profits from sales continues to present a very complex problem for us. It is not a normal situation when we make less profit from exporting high-technology products than from exporting raw materials or simple, low-technology—not to say outright primitive—products.

Sources of Growth [subhead]

This year's tasks for the foreign trade sector have been planned to match the capacities of our economy rather than its hard currency requirements. As regards the first payments area, they envisage exports to the tune of R11.4 billion, that is, 4.1 percent higher than last year. At the same time a drop of 0.3 percent has been planned for the imports, which are expected to cost us R10.9 billion. Plans for foreign trade turnover with the countries of the second payments area are also very cautious. This year's sales to those markets are expected to be higher by 4.8 percent and amount to $7.42 billion. Imports are also expected to rise by 6.8 percent to $6.22 billion.

In the first 6 months of this year our foreign trade turnover was considerably higher than envisaged. Sales to the countries of the first payments area brought R5.5 billion (an increase of 11.5 percent compared with the same period of last year) and imports about R5.2 billion (an increase of some 7 percent). Exports to the remaining markets yielded almost $4 billion, that is, 21.5 percent more than in the same period of last year, while the value of imports increased by as much as 28 percent and reached $3.3 billion.

The considerable increase in both exports and imports and the good progress made in realizing the annual plan tasks after the first 6 months of the year are the results of both the heightened interest in foreign sales on the part of enterprises and manufacturers—even if the interest is often forced by the exigencies of the given situation—and the relatively good results achieved by manufacturing industry. After all, foreign commerce is as good as the whole economy. It should be pointed out that in the first 6 months of the year those sectors which determine the level of our foreign sales—such as, for instance, the electrical and engineering industry—achieved satisfactory production results and this, in turn, made it possible to fulfill on time the agreements signed with foreign contracting parties.

Forecasts [subhead]

For many years now the industries of the Katowice Voivodship have played a significant role in our total national exports. Last year that region provided 22.8 percent, by value, of all our Polish exports. Given the continuing decrease in coal exports, it will be difficult to keep that proportion at the same level, although it must be said that enterprises belonging to other sectors of industry are trying to fill the gap which has thus appeared in our range of goods offered to foreign buyers

We do not yet know the exports figures for Katowice Voivodship for the first 6 months of this year. Nevertheless, on the basis of results achieved over the first 5 months we can assume that enterprises and manufacturing plants of our region have also succeeded in making higher sales abroad than last year. By the end of May exports from Katowice Voivodship totaled Z368.7 billion, including sales to the first payments area of Z219.1 billion, that is, an increase of 88.2 percent in terms of current prices, whereas the value of sales to the Western countries increased by 90.6 percent. Naturally, if we calculate these increases in rubles and dollars, the percentages will be many times smaller.

The Centrozap Foreign Trade Agency realized more than 50 percent of its turnover plan for the current year in the first 6 months of the year. It envisages an increase in sales to the first payments area and an identical level of sales to free currency markets compared to last year's figures, which is not going to be an easy task because in 1987 exports to the latter region grew by almost 22 percent compared to the preceding year. Already by the end of June the value of signed export-import agreements exceeded the planned turnover values by 10.6 percent. The Centrozap has been initiating moves designed to enhance close cooperation with domestic industry and reinforce its position in foreign markets through more frequent participation in major international trade fairs and exhibitions, creation of new companies and representatives' offices abroad, and entering into cooperation with reputable foreign firms.

The Kopex Foreign Trade Agency, which specializes in exports and imports of mining machinery, equipment, and services, has been planning to increase its sales to the first payments area by 5.7 percent and reduce its sales to the hard currency markets by as much as 26 percent. Its contracts for the first payments area for the first 6 months of the year have already exceeded the plan by R10 million; those for the second payments area are not yet finalized. Kopex' largest Western partner, China, restricted its purchases quite drastically. The sales of mining services to FRG markets have also gone down. These are the main reasons for the drop in the exports to the countries of the second payments area. It should be mentioned here that the machinery offered by Kopex does not represent international standards. This is also true of their longwall combination units, which heretofore constituted the major share of the agency's sales. Some customers demand longwall combination units equipped with electrohydraulic controls, which are not made in Poland. The agency places some hopes in the agreement signed last April with the Japanese firm Mitsui concerning cooperation in exports to third markets. The agreement stipulates supplies of Polish-made mine lining units equipped with Japanese electrohydraulic control systems. This will enable Kopex to export its

mine lining systems also to markets which so far have been inaccessible because of their customers' high technological requirements. There is also a chance that we will be able to export our new escape apparatus, manufactured at the Faser plant in Tarnowskie Gory and currently undergoing tests in the U.S. market.

To return to the half-yearly results, during the first 6 months of the present year Kopex realized 47 percent of its annual exports plan to the first payments area and thereby recorded an increase of 19.6 percent in its sales figures in relation to the corresponding period of last year, calculated in comparable prices. As regards the second payments area, the agency completed 56.7 percent of its planned export tasks, with a 23-percent drop in sales figures compared with the first 6 months of 1987.

Good Intentions Are Not Enough [subhead]

Our foreign trade results for the first half of this year can certainly be viewed as positive. They have given us a good chance of fulfilling our annual tasks as planned. On the other hand, we should not feel unduly euphoric, for there are no grounds for euphoria. It is true that our exports have been growing steadily, but—considering the country's hard currency requirements following from the need to modernize our industry, maintain our imports of producer materials, and repay our debts—they are still very low and, what is worse, there are no reasons to believe that they might increase dramatically by leaps and bounds. In recent years a lot has certainly been done to interest our producers in selling their goods abroad, but at the same time not much has been done to increase and modernize our manufacturing potential. Enterprises are running out of the so-called simple reserves and mobilization of new reserves requires modern technologies, machinery, and equipment which they cannot afford. In recent years taxation policy has not encouraged enterprise work forces to make sufficient profits to be able to plow them back into development, and it is still so today. Today there is enough willingness to export, but not enough commodities to sell abroad. There are grounds for anxiety about our export results in the second half of the year. Since the rules of the game were changed last January (when tax concessions on exports were very considerably reduced), more and more exporters have been thinking of cutting their export rate. In a sense, they are forced to do this by the resolution enjoining enterprises to maintain their market supply at last year's levels.

A certain chance of increasing our export potential is perceived in development of cooperation links and involvement of foreign capital. As things stand now, there are not too many volunteers eager to locate their capital in Polish enterprises. This state of affairs may yet change with the updating of the act on Polish-foreign joint ventures. The relevant bill has already reached the Sejm. But there are many indications that the updated act will not come into force before the beginning of next year. Will our potential partners be willing to wait all that time when they have the opportunity of investing their money in other socialist countries on terms which are no worse, and sometimes even better?

FRG Official Schnor Discusses Emigration

LD0708224288 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 7—"We are interested in normal visits by Polish nations to the Federal Republic since they are to the advantage of both countries," said North Rhine-Westphalia Minister of the Interior Herbert Schnor in an interview for the Polish television Bonn correspondent which was broadcast by today's prime-time TV news bulletin, while taking a stand toward economic immigration of Poles under the guise of political persecution.

Herbert Schnor said that this year some 500 thousand Poles would have arrived in the FRG and that West German authorities wanted to impose on them as few limitations as possible.

"However, a distinction should be made with regard to those who want to settle for good," said Minister Schnor. "They can do so by applying for political asylum, but we are well aware that in majority of cases the reasons are economic and are based on wanting to improve one's living standard. Economic reasons will not be taken into account," said the minister, "and this is also to the advantage of Poland."

"There are economic difficulties in Poland, but not political persecution. We are deeply convinced that a vast number of Polish population can live in freedom," emphasized Minister Herbert Schnor.

Opinion Poll Findings on Working Abroad

AU0808162988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP report: "Is It Best To Emigrate or Just Work Abroad for a Time?"]

[Text] Are you prepared to go abroad to work, and if so, for how long? The Center for Public Opinion Research put this question to people employed in the socialized economy, including managers at various levels, and heads of municipal and rural authorities. The most frequent reply was yes, but only for a few months. This was the reply given by 44 percent of employees and 41 percent of managerial cadres in the socialized economy, and by 5.5 percent of heads of local authorities.

Every third socialized economy employee (33.4 percent), every fifth manager (21 percent), and every twelfth local authority chairman (8.6 percent) is prepared to go abroad for a few years.

The percentage of socialized economy employees who wanted to go abroad permanently amounted to 7.8 percent, the number of managerial cadres amounted to 6.1 percent, and that of local authority chairman amounted to a small 0.3 percent.

At the same time, every eighth person employed in the socialized economy (13.1 percent), every fifth member of the managerial cadre (19.8 percent), and more than one-third of local authority chairmen (35.4 percent) do not intend to go abroad to work.

For the purpose of drawing comparisons, more than half of this year's high school graduates (55 percent) would like to go abroad to work for a time and then return to Poland; 14.7 percent of them would like to go abroad permanently, and 23.2 percent would only go abroad as tourists.

Police Investigating Attack on Frenchman

LD0808150988 Warsaw PAP in English 1415 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—The investigation of the ransacking over the weekend of the home of Bernard Margueritte, a correspondent of the French TV Channel Five and Radio Europe-1, in Zalesie Gorne near Warsaw is continuing, PAP learned.

Two still unknown assailants, aged 20-25, plundered the house after being let in by Margueritte's 84-year-old Polish father in law, Bronislaw G., who was at home with his two grandsons.

The robbers attacked the elderly man and threatening him with knives demanded that he hand over the family's valuables. After beating Bronislaw G. the men stole two wallets with Margueritte's official documents and about 70 U.S. dollars. They were scared off by the return of Margueritte and his wife.

Bronislaw G. was taken to hospital and was in a stable condition.

The investigation is being conducted by the Metropolitan Police Department.

'Blank Spots' Opinion Poll Findings

AU0808163188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 88 p 4

[Unsigned report: "'Blank Spots' as Perceived by Public Opinion"]

[Text] The Center for Public Opinion Research recently conducted an interesting opinion poll on the average person's views about "blank spots" in the history of Poland. Asked if there are any important events or people who are currently overlooked or given insufficient attention, 19.8 percent of the sample responded yes and 21.1 percent responded no. A total of 59.1 percent said that they did not know. Asked if there are any events or people connected with Poland's history that are depicted in a biased or false way, 20 percent of respondents replied yes, 19.7 percent replied no, and 60.3 percent said that they did not know.

Thus, "blank spots" were deemed to exist by the 29.8 percent of those questioned who replied yes to at least one of the two questions asked. The existence of omissions or distortions in public discourse on history was not noted by the 13.7 percent of respondents who replied no to both questions. The majority of those questioned (56.3 percent) did not have an opinion and replied "it is hard to say" on both occasions, or if they did not have opinion on the issues raised in one of the questions, replied negatively to the other question.

Historical figures who were deemed to be overlooked or given insufficient attention were, in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned, as follows: Jozef Pilsudski, Wladyslaw Sikorski, Waldyslaw Gomulka, and Boleslaw Bierut. The order for events was as follows: the Katyn massacre, the Warsaw Uprising, the 1920 Polish-Soviet War, the struggle waged by the Home Army during World War II, and the restoration of independence in 1918. Bias in the way in which historical figures were treated was most frequently mentioned in connection with Jozef Pilsudski, Wladyslaw Gomulka, and Wladyslaw Sikorski, and the events most frequently cited in this context were the Katyn massacre, pre-war Poland, the 1920 Polish-Soviet War, and the Warsaw Uprising.

'Communique' on Party Role in Economic Reform

AU0808164588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Communique on PZPR Politburo Session"]

[Text] On 2 August, the PZPR Politburo commenced a series of evaluations of the implementation of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolution by voivodship party organizations. The Politburo conferred with the first secretaries of the PZPR Voivodship Committees of Ostroleka, Skierniewice, and Wroclaw, and discussed the results in these provinces.

These three party organizations, the Politburo said, have manifested increasingly efficient party work and a growth in party ranks. There are more workers, peasants, and young people than last year among the growing numbers of candidates wishing to join the PZPR. The three party organizations are making an effort to improve the work of the primary party bodies and increase their role in society and in social, political, and economic transformations. Party members are becoming more energetic, especially those belonging to workers' self-managements, cooperatives, trade unions, and youth associations. They are contributing to an increase in society's acceptance of the state and economic reform.

However, said the Politburo, there are also untoward phenomena requiring counteraction. For example, the number of PZPR members employed as workers is still rather low, lower than other professional categories. Many primary party bodies basically show little interest in increasing their ranks. In Ostroleka Voivodship, they did not receive a single new candidate member in 1987. Some 64 percent of the party organizations of Wroclaw Voivodship had a similar record.

The party's inspiration is encouraging the performance of economic tasks in the voivodships in question, said the Politburo. Their industrial output has increased. The voivodship of Skierniewice is among the leaders from the point of view of production growth and productivity. On the party's initiative, the elimination of intermediary levels of management has begun, mainly in the cooperative spheres, and primary-level people's councils are consequently being equipped with new powers. This will accelerate and facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the amended law.

A review of various forms of enterprise has commenced in Wroclaw Voivodship, in order to help coordinate the efforts of factories and scientific establishments in improving production figures, quality, and technology. Noting all the obstacles hampering these undertakings will make it easier to remove any difficulties that emerge.

Party bodies must exert strong pressure for the sake of a timely discharge of housing construction tasks, said the Politburo. The results achieved by building enterprises are disparate with the possibilities. The long time it takes to complete building projects must be shortened. This does not just occur in the voivodships in question, but in most of the others as well.

The Politburo indicated the need for regular analyses of the relations between productivity, quality, and wages in enterprises. It is regrettable that the conservatism and parochialism of primary party bodies in some enterprises has led to the provisions of the second stage of the economic reform being ignored. This is particularly the case in enterprises whose existence is in danger. Every voivodship should consider in what spheres of implementing the Seventh Plenum resolution the least has been achieved, where the dangers exist, and how they can be quickly counteracted.

The party leadership, the Politburo stressed, will reinforce various forms of control over and analysis of the implementation of the Seventh Plenum's resolutions by party cells and the state and economic administration. Any delay, passiveness,and half-hearted activity in this sphere must encounter firm reaction at every party level.

Next, the Politburo reviewed the most topical issues of party work in the worker community. This part of the debate was attended by the following invited party aktivists: E. Kwiecien from the knitwear plant in Jedrzejow; J. Pawlaczyk from "Biston" in Lodz; T. Wysocki from the "Nowotko" plant in Warsaw; S. Mozgol from the "Pstrowski" mine in Zabrze; D. Pucek from the "Kasprzak" plant in Warsaw; and L. Szadkowski from the railroad marshalling yard in Bydgoszcz.

The difficulties of everyday life are strongly affecting the situation and moods of the working class, the Politburo stressed. There is growing concern for living and working conditions and for the social security of worker families. Market supplies, the slow pace of attaining economic equilibrium, and growing inflation are being criticized. The effects of implementing the economic reform are still disproportionate to the expectations and promises. Many worker communities feel that the reform is an endless change of prices and wages. Some parts of industry are suffering from a shortage of materials. Bad organization in shops and public service institutions and bad service to customers are getting on people's nerves.

While indicating the need to maintain a calm and steady production rhythm, many factories are pointing out at the same time that an increase in productivity, enterprise, and inventiveness must be forced on industry more quickly during the second stage of the reform. Job certification and the introduction of collective forms of labor organization, especially the system of work brigades, are proceeding too slowly. A broad exchange of experiences is called for between, on the one hand, enterprises to whom the second stage of the reform has brought independent development and, on the other hand, enterprises which are constantly encountering obstacles.

Despite the various unfavorable phenomena, the reform to the economy and state has touched off positive changes in the worker community and increased its political activity. The decline in the number of workers in the PZPR which began after August 1980 was finally halted in 1987. Some 33,000 workers joined the PZPR in 1986 and 37,000 in 1987.

Workers who are members of various party structures, state bodies, and social and self-management organizations are displaying considerable energy, which permits a greater influence by them on the implementation of political and economic decisions. The legally expanded powers of the people's councils, the increased prestige of workers' self-managements brought by the economic reform, the work of the trade unions, and the bill on associations are presenting broad possibilities for workers to fulfill a greater role in public life. Close day-to-day links with the workers' class and an increased workers' confidence in the party are vital to the party's identity and ideological condition. An effective representation of worker's interests determines the party's vanguard status.

The Politburo said that partnerlike dialogue with the working class must go on incessantly. This cannot take the form of formal contact at ceremonious occasions. In such dialogue on the subject of national affairs, there must not be an absence of a genuine desire for mutual understanding and a respect for other people's arguments. Such dialogue strengthens the party, improves its general orientation and the national development strategy planned by it, and gives it the strength to implement the rights and duties of workers.

It was stressed that Polish experience has proved many times that the very attitudes of the working class are the deciding factor behind major changes in the socioeconomic system. The implemented program of reforms, geared to a radical improvement in management and consequently to a fundamental improvement in the standard of living, may bring about tension and clashes of interests. The role of party organizations is to turn these into the driving force of development. In this process the party will and must consider and take into account the interests of the working class more effectively.

An acceleration and faster implementation of the economic reform involves a critical-minded look at the state of the party among the worker community. The transformations occurring in this community require sweeping changes.

With the people and for the people, and a readiness to settle every social, professional, factory, and workers' class problem—these are the steadfast principles of militant party activity, the Politburo stressed. A strict observance of these principles is doubly important now, at a time of overcoming obstacles to the reform. Bold and effective solutions must be sought. Party organizations should be given the right to experiment and take risks. It is no longer enough to have outdated, superficial methods of work whose anachronism repels people and makes party work to no avail despite the enormous effort put in.

The Politburo stressed that it is the duty of primary party organizations to create in their own milieu the conditions necessary to give the process of national accord a stronger impetus. One cannot waste any existing possibility in this sphere. This applies particularly to work with nonparty people. Their opinions should be carefully heard and their suggestions employed.

The representation of workers' interests involves particular sensitivity to all violations of social justice, said the Politburo. At the same time, it must be seen to that social justice is not taken to mean primitive egalitarianism, but it must also be seen to that there are no advantages not justified by one's work input, creative thought, and initiative. The links and cooperation between the workers' class and the broadly-conceived intelligentsia, especially the scientific intelligentsia, must be more modern, in accordance with the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution.

It should be the party's policy to remove anything that interferes with daily life and work and has a negative effect on social moods. It turns out that many such matters can be resolved on the spot, without giving rise to emotion and irritation. These qualities are caused by passiveness, incompetence, arrogance, and a lack of respect for the rules of social coexistence on the part of some employees in the administration, public services, trade, and so on.

All too frequently in such cases, party organizations confine themselves to indicating negative phenomena, and fail to call for official personnel sanctions. Neither do they apply party conclusions. The Seventh Plenum spoke out unequivocally on this subject.

Cadres policy should be pursued clearly and applied firmly. The best employees should be promoted. One cannot let decent people, solid professionals, and good citizens drown among the mediocre and remain unnoticed by the authorities at every level.

That is why, said the Politburo, the party should abandon work of a general nature and proceed to working with specific party members who are in touch with the people every day and receive opinions and postulates from them, frequently very appropriate ones.

The party must attract valuable nonparty people, those who enjoy prestige and respect at their place of work, are above-average, and do not shun activity, even if they do have doubts. This is a commitment for party organizations and cells stemming from the Seventh Plenum resolution.

The Politburo accepts with satisfaction the declaration about the openness of the trade union movement and about a place in it for anyone who feels close to the affairs of workforces and is sensitive to any neglect of working conditions and workers' needs and any injustice toward workers themselves. In this sphere, the trade unions can create full possibilities for bold and constructive work, provided that the legal principle of one factory-one trade union is observed.

In connection with the forthcoming reform to the health service, the Politburo called for an autumn review of the working conditions inside enterprises and the safety measures therein.

Widescale private talks with party members and candidate members will be an important factor in strengthening the party's ties with workers. The talks will be held before the national conference of PZPR delegates.

The Politburo adopted a stance on the following subjects:

—The holding of voivodship conferences of party aktivists devoted to ways of implementing the resolutions of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum in the workers' community;

—Organizing plenary sessions of party organizations on the above topic;

—Altering the method of supervision by party cells over large factories, in order to establish new requirements;

—Organizing exchanges of experiences between party organizations in various factories;

—Improving and enriching the contents of internal party memoranda in factories;

—Creating party structures at one's place of residence and developing cooperation between them and factory party organizations, for example in the form of patronage by factories over party bodies in the field.

The Politburo approved detailed recommendations, addressed to party organizations and cells, aimed at increasing the effectiveness and militancy of political work among the workers' community.

Council of Ministers Reviews Economic Situation

LD0908084788 Warsaw PAP in English
2205 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—The Council of Ministers held a meeting here today to consider a draft "review of the economic situation and central annual plan fulfillment in 1988's first six months as well as of threats to it."

An analysis of results of this year's first six months indicates a high growth rate in industrial production and possibilities to fulfill, or to even exceed most annual production tasks. A 6.4-per-cent industrial production growth betters the planned figures (3.7 to 4.0 per cent) and though its dynamic is to be lower in the latter half of 1988, the plan in this area is likely to be exceeded.

Although lower than last year's record figures, grain crops are expected to be higher than planned, mostly owing to an improvement in the structure of areas under crop.

The situation in foreign trade is developing favourably. With a 13.1-per-cent exports growth, a 15.7-per-cent imports growth, and with favourable terms of trade with socialist countries, the balance of turnover projected for this year is also considerably advanced.

A major adverse phenomena of 1988's first six months which has affected social attitudes is the serious threat to the market equilibrium in consumption, capital and supply goods. Thus, problems related to stabilizing the market have been one of the chief concerns of the government.

The Council of Ministers approved the draft document and suggested that the authors, in keeping with the course of discussion, present as complete a picture of the economy as possible with provisions made for both positive trends and adverse phenomena, and their objective causes.

After the motions made during the discussion are taken into account, the document will be passed on to trade unions for joint evaluation.

The Council of Ministers adopted a report on task fulfillment of the implementation programme of the second stage of economic reforms between October 1987 and June 30th, 1988. The implementation programme provided for commencement of 128 tasks aimed at stabilization of the economy and boosting of the supply, price restructuring and strengthening of the money as well as at restructuring of the system of economy management.

The Council of Ministers adopted also a report on implementation of the law on extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the government. Under Article 7 of the law, such reports will be tabled with the Sejm (parliament) every three months.

In another point of its agenda, the Council of Ministers considered and approved a package of regulations which constituted executive orders to the amended law on compulsory military service.

One of the regulations adopted deals with alternative service. The regulation defines the course of qualifying for alternative military service of those recruits whose applications have been approved by local bodies of voivodship-level state administration.

In the light of the country's current situation, the Council of Ministers heard a package of issues stemming from motions and recommendations voiced during latest sessions of the PUWP CC Political Bureau as well as in the course of recently held conferences of first secretaries and voivodes.

The Council of Ministers carried also an evaluation of production and market supply level of meat, milk and their derivatives.

Poland's milk production amounts currently to 410 kilos per capita, which is one of Europe's highest indices. However, shortage of packing, transport and refrigerating facilities in retail trade contributes to milk waste and its inferior quality.

Recorded locally, temporary shortages of meat and its derivatives are a result of the distribution, improperly organized transport as well as of the relation between prices and justified real production costs. Measures

taken by the government are focussed first of all upon ensuring production growth and improvement in material and technology supplies to cattle breeding.

The system of subsidies for milk production is being corrected. The growth of these subsidies is connected with relative cheapening of milk products in proportion with average earnings.

The Council of Ministers appealed to the Central Union of Milk Co- operatives and to the Polish Union of Cattle Breeders for a determined improvement in servicing of farmers and for more effective milk economy.

Phenonena similar to those in milk production are also noted in meat production and consumption. Starting with 1984, a constant growth has been noted in the purchasing capacity of an average salary in relation with the price of meat.

Four years ago, one could buy with one's average earnings 22 kilos of meat, while presently the amount has grown to 31 kilos. A consequence of this situation is attainment, as early as in 1987, of a meat consumption level by 2.3 kilo higher than that provided for in 1990 figures.

This year's central annual plan envisages 1,760 thousand tonnes of supplies of meat and its derivatives to retail shops, which fully satisfies the needs of the rationing system.

The increased demand for meat is also caused by insufficient supply of fish and milk products as well as by relatively high prices of vegetables and fruit.

An important factor which affects the level of meat consumption is the market introduction of private meat sales. Compared with last year's first six months, offhand sales grew this year by nearly 58 per cent. Opportunities will be created for inclusion of state-run farms as market meat suppliers.

The Council Ministers adopted decisions and issued instructions aimed at upgrading of meat economy and at elimination of wastefulness.

Premier's Decree on Plant Mergers

AU0808143588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Aug 88 p 2

["Premier's Decree No. 24 of 1 August 1988 on Merging State Enterprises"]

[Text] In line with Article 1, Item 2, Sub-item b of the 11 May 1988 law on the special powers for the Council of Ministers (THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE No. 13, Item 98] and in line with Paragraph 1, Item 2 of the Council of Ministers resolution of 21 May 1988 on entrusting the premier with executing some special powers, the following measures are decreed:

Paragraph 1

1. The following plants are merged:

1) The Marcel Nowotko Siarkopol sulfur mines and processing plants in Tarnobrzeg,

2) The Siarkopol sulfur mines and chemical plants in Grzybow;

3) The Siarkopol plant for processing and dispatching chemical deposits in Gdansk.

2. The aforementioned merger will be effected in that the Tarnobrzeg Siarkopol mines and plants will takeover the state plants listed in Paragraph 1, items 2 and 3.

3. The merger will be come into effect on 1 September 1988.

4. The minister of industry acts as the founding body for the state plant resulting from the merger.

Paragraph 2

The founding body of the merged plants will implement this decree.

Paragraph 3

The decree comes into force on the day of its signing.

Signed by Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda on behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Article Examines History of Anticrisis Pact

AU0808080888 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Jul 88 pp 1, 13

[Adam Krzeminski article: "Anticrisis Pact—Indirect Dialogue"]

[Text] In politics one never knows about the revolution of words and where true changes in the structures of states and societies begin. It happens that embellished formulas are used to obscure inertia and that changes are carried out silently. However, it also happens that new words are keys to a new future. The term "anticrisis pact" has been in circulation in the Polish press and in politicians' speeches for several months now, but it has just been replaced by the term "pro-reform coalition." Is this a flash in the pan or proof that changes take place by trial and error?

The KONFRONTACJE journalist, who last winter interviewed Bronislaw Geremek, advisor of the former Solidarity National Commission, was the first to use the term "anticrisis pact." This term would never have been used again, if Geremek had not developed it during that interview, during which he said that martial law was still with us and that we were locked in conflict with the

authorities. "Engaging in dialogue with the community must be preceded by recognizing its right to self-organization. No window-dressing institutions can act as substitutes for this right." On the other hand, people should accept—in the spirit of the 1980 accords—the existing legal order as a point of departure and should come to terms with "the PZPR's leading role, which presupposes a certain scope of monopoly of power" in, for example, foreign and defense policies, security, and the representative system. If in this connection the parliamentary elections and practices could come closer "to principles of democracy, the better this would be for people and for the authorities."

According to Geremek, social accords would cover the areas outside the monopoly of power, "such as those involving the functioning of independent associations or clubs of political thought." The "anticrisis pact" would enjoy better chances in 1988 than 7 years ago, because people have found out that they must put reasonable limits on their aspirations and intentions and the authorities have found out that it is impossible to achieve an economic breakthrough without participation of genuine social forces.

Pluralism ("I make no secret of the fact that I attach main importance to trade union pluralism") would have to be a condition for the pact. This pluralism would not constitute a threat to the authorities: "On the contrary, it would help to create genuinely shared responsibility in a broad anticrisis pact.... The institutionalization of social pluralism may assume various forms. For example, there could be a second parliamentary chamber, in which various social interests could be articulated. There could also be extraparliamentary representatives bodies.... The point is to reduce the action area of the state and to enlarge the area of civic freedom."

This interview was not the only hint. Toward the end of February, PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI published a letter signed by 30 intellectuals, including Prof Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector of Warsaw University; Ryszard Bugaj, economic advisor of the former Solidarity; Andrzej Drawicz, a specialist in Russian studies; Aleksander Paszynski, former POLITYKA journalist and cofounder of the Warsaw Industrial Society; Jan Jozef Szczepanski, chairman of the old Association of Polish Writers; Juliusz Zulawski, chairman of the old administration of the Polish PEN Club, and others. The signatories appealed to those in power "to change the anachronistic rules relating to associations of over 50 years, to delegate decisionmaking in this regard to the courts of justice, and to agree to the creation of genuine conditions (periodicals, clubs, and so on) for free discussions about the virtues and defects of the state's socioeconomic system. We ask you to recognize the fact that no one has a monopoly on infallibility and that those whose views differ from those of the authorities are just as entitled to present their arguments to the people." The conclusion of the appeal: "Poland needs a genuine social accord signed not only by those who accept the present system, but also by those who are aware of the need to profoundly reform it in order to make people comprehensively sovereign."

Response to that letter was not much to write home about, perhaps because the KONFRONTACJE interview with Geremek was a crucial blow to taboo, in that an official publication carried a statement of one of the leading advisors of Solidarity, a man who had been publicly attacked not so long before.

Ludwik Krasucki, deputy chief editor of NOWE DROGI, responded to the Geremek interview in the same February issue of KONFRONTACJE: "We will not accept hands down anyone's gracious ideas of what should be the only areas of the activities of the party and government.... If some areas are exclusively assigned to 'us,' other areas seem to be indirectly coveted by someone else.... Eliminating the party is out of the question...." In his rejoinder the party ideologue saw pluralism "as an honest contract between independent, constructive, and responsible bodies and not as an area of mad rows and stalking games." Nor did he agree with the government-society scheme, because it was "a rhetorical figure devoid of realism, a figure concealing simplifications or a negative political intention." The division of society is something else, Krasucki reasoned. There is in society "a zone that is amenable to a repetition of anarchy. There is a zone of conservatism, which in the case of Poland has its origins in bureaucracy rather than in dogmatism. There is a zone of extensive fear of the painful results of the economic reform, consistent decentralization, and abolition of paternalism, which offers as little to everyone as it demands from everyone. There is a zone of apathy, which is stimulated not only by "learned passivity," but also by the pressure of daily material and other problems of living. Explaining why primitive populism and inclination to make unreal demands links all those different zones calls for a separate analysis."

The opposition regarded this response as the closing down of the discussion that had just begun. This was what TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY did last March. ("Any conceivable anticrisis contract or pact between partners whose positions are so remote from one another is simply impossible.")

However, the fact is that, once mooted, the idea of the "anticrisis pact" did not disappear into thin air, all the more so since representatives of the political establishment took it up again. In his interview for TRYBUNA LUDU, Jozef Czyrek used the term "anticrisis pact," and Ryszard Wojna wrote in RZECZPOSPOLITA: "It is simply people's instinct of self-preservation that dictates the need for an anticrisis pact. Will there be a dialogue on this subject, a dialogue whose goal is compulsory accord?" In the March issue of KONFRONTACJE,

Wojna was direct: "People's awareness of the anticrisis pact discussed by Mr Bronislaw Geremek is now quite familiar 'at the top' on all sides of the old lines of division."

Wojna, who is a member of the Consultative Council attached to General Jaruzelski as the chief of the state and who heads the Sejm Foreign Committee, went much farther than L. Krasucki: "We have reached a stage at which Stalinist socialism is becoming a profoundly modified political formation that wants to preserve the basic values and meaning of socialism and, at the same time, to restructure the principles and mechanisms of economic life as required by the laws of the market. However, Wojna was against dual government: "This would be in conflict with the experience of history as we know it. Reforms can be carried out only by the state, whose constitutional bodies and, above all, government are in real existence. The opposition wishes to help to develop this process, but, if so, it should support the points of accord formulated verbally or through one-sided declarations about the unwritten, but observed, anticrisis pact."

The discussion about the "pact" began when reformers within the government were able to demonstrate a number of obvious achievements in the process of democratizing the system. The recent achievements included:

—the Consultative Council attached to the State Council chairman,

—the Constitutional Tribunal,

—the ombudsman,

—the referendum.

On the other hand, the flow of consumer goods has not been really improved and large segments of the opposition, beginning with Lech Walesa and some leaders of the old Solidarity, have not been won for legal cooperation. The fact that some prominent representatives of the Catholic community refused to join the Consultative Council was a pointer to existing barriers, even though the presence in the council of distinctly political figures such as Attorney Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki or Prof Andrzej Tymowski shows that the council can constitute a broad representation of political communities. Nor is the circulation of public opinion completely normal.

Some strata on oppositional opinion continue to be published by the underground press, some of which, such as KRYTYKA and KULTURA NIEZALEZNA, seem to have rather regular readers. However, the fact that the official publishing market has been enriched by publications such as RES PUBLICA, ODRODZENIE, and KONFRONTACJE helps to expand the traditional arrangements.

Last April, in the newly established REPORTER, Professor Marian Gulczynski criticized the center of power, which "reflects a kind of compromise between the old and new lineup of forces. It is not a fact that only narrow groups of leaders are in favor of preserving the old economic priorities. Entire segments of Polish society are connected with this." In his REPORTER interview, Gulczynski saw two scenarios: one of the explosion and one of the breakthrough in the structures of power. "A move ahead will be taken on the Polish 'chessboard' when champions of the total reform of the methods of economic management and of the branch structures of the economy are able to have their say."

In April and May both scenarios were in action: There was a small explosion of strikes in Nowa Huta, Stalowa Wola, Gdansk, and Bydgoszcz and a kind of "onward movement" in the structures of power. The seventh PZPR plenum can be regarded as a harbinger of radical reforms, but although the elections to the people's councils took place before that plenum in line with changed procedures, these procedures were highly unsatisfactory. The result was a low turnout, although people had the opportunity to choose between Kwiatkowski or Kowalski, between women and men, and between old and young candidates. The new election procedures were unable to reconcile our people who were at loggerheads or at least deeply divided. Despite changes in the law of the people's councils so that they could determine their own fiscal economy and even to elect voivodas, the new councils will find it difficult to win people's trust, although statements made by Ryszard Kardasz in the previous issue of POLITYKA show that some movement is underway here and there. R. Kardasz, who regards himself as an oppositionist from the former Solidarity, risked verifying the new election procedures in practice and became a councillor in Tarnobrzeg (POLITYKA, Issue 30).

At the end of May, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY published Ryszard Bugaj's sharp polemics with a feuilleton by Daniel Passent, who wrote that "a compromise with independent communities is senseless, because, although they propose (via Bronislaw Geremek) to recognize the party's leading role and the constitutional foundations of our system, this leading role is actually to be reduced to wearing a red skullcap." Bugaj responded that "in contrast to Daniel Passent, I am convinced that, although not devoid of risks, the policy of a bold modernization of the system creates better opportunities for the authorities as well to halt contentions."

The Solidarity advisor writes in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY that there are factors that are in favor of changes: "It is impossible to unequivocally declare how far the system must be modernized in order to make it possible for economic efficiency to radically increase and for a new social balance to be created. However, given all the differences in views, it seems that the option called the market and social pluralism seems to be gaining in significance. Of course, these slogans may denote very

different meanings." The slogan "pluralism" expresses "the intention to search for such changes that can be reconciled with the 'principle that the party wields the leading role,' but the interpretation of this principle has to be narrowed down. It is generally assumed that social pluralism must guarantee the functioning of trade unions, associations, local authorities (at least at the gmina level), and public opinion without the control of the party and educational authorities. On the other hand, it is assumed that social pluralism (in contrast to political plura lism par excellence) does not include party pluralism, which is the key pluralism in every democratic system." In this way Bugaj tried to tighten the definition of the "dispute about the red skullcap," stressing the need to interpret anew the party's leading role. In the past few months, in an atmosphere of compromise between the old and new forces, new thoughts that have not been heard of for a long time and that were out of the question for many people not so long ago, have appeared. First, in his interview for Krakow ZDANIE, Adam Schaff came out in favor of creating a Christian Democratic party in Poland, one that would play the role of legal opposition.

The aforementioned Ryszard Kardasz, who is trying out in practice new powers of the people's councillors, told POLITYKA that he was pondering setting up a discussion club, "which could be transformed into a political party.... The 'Green' party would be the first model for such a political party. Those who did not trust PRON are in need of an independent party."

All those hints received encouragement from what General Jaruzelski said at the seventh PZPR plenum in mid-June. In his report he stressed several points:

—Freedom of associations. ("The party also intends that new opportunities to set up associations will make it possible to transfer to suitable social organizations some of the functions that the state apparatus has fulfilled so far.")

—Setting up the Senate. ("The idea of setting up the second chamber of the Sejm continues to be discussed in the party, among our coalition partners, and by many communities. This is a crucial element of the initial conceptual work on the PPR Constitution, in line with the 10th congress decisions. We also propose that the Socioeconomic Councils attached to the Voivodship People's Councils should be able to develop as institutional forms in which the varieties of self-government can be integrated.")

—The coalition. ("Efforts to expand and open new vistas that lead to the broad, patriotic, and reformatory coalition that Poland needs are not temporary tactics, but an enduring element of our program. There is room for serious experiments in this program. Despite various fears and warnings, the establishment of the Consultative Council and civic conventions is some voivodships continues to bear positive results.)

—Christian representation. ("We regard as normal and advantageous the situation in which the people's state cannot be identified with militant atheism, and the Catholic Church cannot be identified with political clericalism. Differences in world outlooks can and should be creative elements that do not hinder cooperation on the issues that are most important for the people. This should make it possible for the organizational communities that profess the Catholic Church's social teachings and that adopt a constructive stance vis-a-vis the socialist states, to achieve a higher level of political representation.")

These statements gave rise to speculation whether it is really possible for a single Christian democratic party to be established in Poland. It is hard to imagine that the Sejm factions such as the Christian Social Association—PAX, the Polish-Catholic Social Union, and so on could merge with the Catholic groups rallied around the Club of Catholic Intellectuals or around ZNAK into a single Christian democratic opposition to His Majesty, as ODRODZENIE has put it. Today this does not seem either possible nor desirable for the practical, ideological, and biographical reasons relating to the leaders of those groups. It is also little probable that these groups would unite with activists of the former Solidarity, who are rallied around the Catholic Church. That is why, on the one hand, people talk about extending Christian representation in the Sejm by some dozens of mandates and, on the other hand, about a grass-roots movement to be created by political associations and clubs, which may in time produce new political personalities and groupings, which in turn may be transformed into Christian democracy some day. But this is a program for years and not for months.

Ryszard Bugaj's and Andrzej Wielowieyski's article published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was an indirect response to that signal and a continuation of the debates. It is true that that article criticized the authorities' dawdling and sham activities on the one hand, but, on the other; it appealed to independent communities "to prevent the failure of the present changes. Acknowledging all the risks connected with supporting the changes launched by the authorities, there is at present no alternative that could be more favorable to the country's interests. We want to strongly stress that the failure of the present attempts at reforms is bound to produce a long-term stalemate with negative results, which it is difficult to envisage. Some kind of cooperation between the government forces and independent communities could be of crucial significance." The two authors then outlined the framework of such cooperation, listing ten points of it: Combining economic reforms with democratization of the political system, including trade union pluralism, the establishment of associations, and freedom of opinion.

Further proposals include introducing market mechanisms and restricting the role of the center, commercializing the banking system and resisting monopolies, guaranteeing the equality of state, social, private, and other

sectors, changing the priorities of investment policy, devising a realistic program for repaying our debts, and so on.

The conclusion: "It is necessary to adopt the principle of self-restraint. In the case of society and independent communities, self-restraint must denote moderation in making political and material claims. In the case of the government, self-restraint must primarily denote giving up the present scope of government." Giving up not only the form of government, but also the scope of it.

In his RZECZPOSPOLITA article in two installments, Ryszard Wojna presented a very bitter account of his party. Today, he wrote, it is impossible to claim government only on one's own behalf, enlisting the support of the laws of history or of the only correct ideology: "Who will come to terms with an unequal alliance in which one party maintains on its own behalf its own monopoly on how socialism and the party's leading role should be defined?" Today it is necessary to win the vote of the electorate, and today parliamentarism is the correct form of people's rule: "It is true that not so long ago the purists ordered that efforts to win the electorate's vote should be treated with contempt, because they viewed this as readiness to embrace parliamentary democracy, which was at times identified by Stalinist socialism with the virtual betrayal of proletarian ideas...."

Wojna had this to say about the June elections: "The low turnout in the most recent elections to the people's councils, especially in certain workers districts, also raised the question as to the PZPR's ability to adapt itself to the modern structures of our society, especially to the changes that have occurred within the workers class." Conclusions: Thanks to the party programs, in the past 40 years it has been possible to erect several mighty workers' fortresses in Poland, which were supposed to be the bulwarks of new social order, but which have actually become sources of the party's fundamental problems. This is because, on the one hand, the new heavy industry is now being affected by the world crisis of modernization and the "third technological revolution," which is based on electronics and not on coal and steel. On the other hand, this is because the party apparatus did not realize what the new changes really were. This apparatus "fulfilled at one time the role of the vanguard of the party, which was supposed to be the vanguard of the workers class, and thus of all people." However, up to this very day that apparatus has still not shed all the props of the Stalinist model and has not been able to change its doctrinal attitude toward private ownership, to adapt itself to the educational revolution it had initiated itself, and to accept many national traditions and the Christian roots of Polish culture. Severe alienation was caused by all these factors. "Each system contains in itself its own overriding contradiction, which demolishes its mechanisms. The development of the workers class was one such contradiction in the capitalism of the 19th century. Access to science and education was a contradiction in Stalinist socialism. Highly educated segments of society aspire to truly shared government and are not satisfied with consultative democracy (this is Professor Stelmachowski's term)."

Ryszard Wojna's criticism leveled against the government apparatus for its conservatism and slowness goes hand in hand with other similar cases of criticism. In his interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 2 weeks ago, Mariusz Gulczynski attacked the "aktivocracy": "The wrath of the young is now being directed mainly against local setups and plant aktivocracy, which continues to defend its privileges ferociously. We know cases in which the defense of socialism has been equalled with the defense of the successive government teams. However, aktivocracy is dangerous at every level." According to Gulczynski, the elections to the people's councils last June could have been successful "if new solutions for which the public had militated before the elections had been employed, if the election colleges had been staffed by the people from outside the ranks of local aktivocracy, if the principle had been put into practice that it is enough to collect 100 or 200 signatures to be able to put someone's name on the candidates' list legally, and so on."

The 1989 elections to the Sejm should reflect more correctly the real lineup of political forces: "There are informally organized forces, which may become illegal in the long run. However, the thing is that when they become illegal, they usually become destructive, although most of them could become a constructive opposition. That is why I think that the right of free association, including political associations and clubs, is the most important issue. Dziekania or the Clubs of Catholic Intellectuals are examples of such discussion clubs, which are political in character and whose number should increase...."

On the other hand, Marcin Krol, chief editor of RES PUBLICA, which is an independent publication, said the following when asked by a journalist from French Radio what he thinks about a political accord between independent circles and the government: "I think that the platform of accord is an exaggeration. For private reasons we call what we are doing an indirect dialogue. I see no platform of accord. I regard the talk about the anticrisis pact or about similar things as slightly abstract. If a specific proposal comes along, it may be either accepted or rejected...." Asked if he would accept a Sejm mandate if the opposition were granted 60 mandates, as is being said, M. Krol said: "What does this mean 'is being said?' If the government makes such a proposal, we will think about it. There is nothing to talk about at present."

In the past 6 months a certain type of thinking has thus gained ground. Notions that were objected to in February are now freely used by government circles. Jozef Czyrek's meeting with independent intellectuals in Krakow and Stanislaw Ciosek's meeting with the consensus

group in Warsaw prove that dialogue, trials, and errors can produce crucial changes in the political system and can increase the segments of the people who not only talk about national accord, but also act to realize it.

A certain way of thinking and talking has developed and a certain term has all but disappeared in the past few months. Marcin Krol does not like the term "anticrisis pact," and J. Czyrek in his TRYBUNA LUDU interview and J. Urban at his news conference talked about a pro-reform coalition instead of "anticrisis pact." It is hard to state whether this is meant to avoid the specter of crisis and those pacts that in the Poland before partitions [1772] tied the hands of the king. Still, we have reached that stage of the reform in which it is necessary to change the substance and not the external form.

It has to be clearly said that the east of central Europe has been in a transitional period with all its tremors and crises since 1956, and not for just the past 2 years, but only now is Stalinist communism reaching an end before our very eyes. Making the Stalinist crimes public amounts not only to a cosmetic moral treatment. It also denotes the undermining of the entire network of institutions and dogmas justifying those crimes. At the same time, the disintegration of Stalinism calls for new answers to all the basic questions about socialism in every country. Depending on traditions, this answer may be different in every country. Whereas in the USSR the logic calls for Leninist quests, in Poland we should rather go back to the ideological traditions and values of Polish socialism, especially of the neglected socialism of the Polish Socialist party. After all, our governing party calls itself "united," but the traditions of the Polish Socialist party were lost almost without trace as early as the fifties. R. Wojna's article in RZECZPOSPOLITA on the evolution of the socialists in France or of the Social Democrats in the FRG demonstrates with the help of various examples, even if somewhat remote, that those parties maintain and consolidate their social positions and are able to make a turn in their political philosophies in line with new conditions and to find the vital roots that confirm their choice of democracy. It is no use concealing that in our country, too, the reforms tend to lead to genuine pluralism and to the grass-roots crystallization of new political structures. Militant pluralism must also influence changes in the party—those toward its socialization, toward a changed style of policy-making, and toward searches for new intellectual attractiveness.

OPZZ Commission on Family Allowance Changes

LD0808201588 Warsaw PAP in English
1711 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 8—The Social Policy Commission of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance today discussed proposals of changes in the current system of family allowances.

In the stance adopted following discussions, the commission stated that the system of family allowances was very complex and that a tremendous bureaucratic machine was required to run it. This system does not create motivation for employees with low remunerations to take up higher-paid work and to increase effectiveness. This bears a destructive impact on the situation on the labour market. Hence, it contradicts the idea of economic reform.

The commission thought it necessary to link family allowances with the average wage in the state sector to a greater extent. In his opinion, proposals of modifications of the system of family allowances should be submitted by the government along with the draft Central Annual Plan for 1989.

'Rudna' Copper Mine Workers Protest 29 Jul

AU0808163788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 88 p 2

[PAP report: "What Happened at 'Rudna'?"]

[Text] On 3 May 1987 at the "Rudna" copper mine a group of some 300 miners and people from other firms employed at the "Rudna" site gathered to protest about wages inadequately reflecting the nature of their work and about worsening health and safety conditions. There was no work stoppage during the protest. On the following day negotiations were held with the directors of the Copper Mining and Metallurgical Combine in Lublin.

Eleven demands were issued. The most important ones were that miners' wages should reflect the difficult nature of the work that they perform (twice average wages in industry for work performed during a comparable period of time), and that tests should be conducted on retired miners to determine the extent to which they had been contaminated with substances that are harmful to their health.

After a meeting that lasted several hours unanimous agreement was reached about the way in which the demands could be realized.

Three months have elapsed since then. On Friday 29 July at 1330, as the second shift was about to start work, a group of some 200 people gathered at "Rudna-West." The group was then addressed by an "organizational committee" composed of several people who charged the legal trade unions with displaying insufficient concern about the implementation of the 4 May agreements and that as a result of this the miner's occupational status had declined. Janusz Grott, chairman of the "Rudna" employees trade union, replied to this and gave a full account of his organization's actions concerning these matters. One of the members of the "organizational committee" read a statement containing several appeals, including the registration of a so-called Solidarity mining

commission for the copper basin. At 1418, without voicing an opinion about this, those taking part in the meeting went down the mine to start work.

Ryszard Zbrzyzny, chairman of the Trade Union Representative Council for the Copper Mining and Metallurgical Combine, told a PAP reporter: "All 11 demands issued on 3 May have been realized with the exception of the most important one. According to the calculations that have been made, the wages of miners working in the copper basin are still not twice as high as average wages in industry generally. But we already have the 17 June law that has changed the principles governing the creation of enterprise wage systems. We have received an assurance that all the tasks concerning the 'Miners' Charter' will be accomplished by 1 September. Current dissatisfaction with wage levels should be reduced by profit distribution payments and export bonuses. During the first 6 months of this year miners' wages have risen by an average of 43 to 45 percent. Are we pleased? No, we trade unionists are not satisfied. It is true that we are witnessing a systematic decline in the miner's occupational status and the material rewards enjoyed by miners. We do not have a preferential status when applying for housing and extra pay for working overtime is considered 'buying workers'. We intend to fight..."

Ludwik Kaziow, a member of the combine trade union representative council, said: "The attempt to discredit the 4 May agreements was only a pretext for trying to register the former copper basin Solidarity union. The lack of interest displayed by workers was the best response to that."

Wieslaw Katny, a member of the "Rudna" employee self-management body, said: "The 3 May protests stemmed from a feeling that the miner's existence was being further threatened. There was no mention of registering a new union at that time. The accusations that are being levelled against the legal unions are not borne out by available documents and the facts in general. But what does that matter, when there is a good pretext for kicking up a noise...."

Work at the "Rudna" mine and other mining plants in the copper basin is proceeding normally. Contrary to the reports carried by Radio Free Europe, the only people who remember the 29 July events are the cooks who wanted to do some baking, but found that they were short of oil.

New Black Sea Offshore Drilling Platform Due

AU0808155288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1442 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/8/1988—The Galati site is soon to deliver the "Saturn" offshore drilling platform, which will add to the other six platforms in the Black Sea's oil area, known as the "archipelago of the steel isles."

It is an impressive construction whose height equals that of a 35-40-storey apartment block. The platform is still in the port of Constanta for final preparations before its being put on location offshore.

Specialized vessels and a 6,000-HP tug boat will provide for its transportation to its location.

While preparations are in progress for the "Saturn" to be sent offshore, extensive operations are under way on the other six platforms: Operational wells continue to work on the "Gloria," new wells are being drilled on the "Fortuna" and the "Jupiter", production tests are conducted on the "Orizont" and investigations into new hydrocarbon deposits are being made on the "Atlas" and the "Prometeu."

The programme for the capitalization of crude and natural gas in marine subsoil has always called for great investment and substantial technical and human effort. Contributing to its implementation are numerous design and research institutes, as well as units of the oil industry, machine building, electrical engineering, the ship industry, which designed and built the aforesaid six platforms where exploration and exploitation works were performed down to 6,000 metres. Furthermore, a 80-km pipe was laid to pump well gas to the shore and a gas-processing terminal was built at the petrochemical combine at Midia. At the same time, the new river and sea port of Midia was connected to the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

The new offshore drilling platform belonging to the Romanian enterprise for marine well drilling and exploitation, "Petromar," will soon become operational to boost the productive potential of the Black Sea continental shelf.

Details on Wage and Salary Increases Published

Figures for Oil Industry

AU0808195188 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 4 August, page 5, carries under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 250-word report made up of one table illustrating how the recent pay rise is being applied in the oil industry beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in the oil industry the incomes of working personnel with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei a month" ($1 equalling 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) "have been increased as of 1 August."

Thus a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,799 lei, the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the pay increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,287 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,525 lei, the highest was 1,838 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,287 lei.

A note at the end of the table specifies that "the remuneration of the other workers in the oil industry earning less than 2,000 lei a month" and of the technical, economic, and administrative personnel "will also be increased beginning 1 August."

Pay Rise in Machine-Building

AU0808195988 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 6 August, page 5, carries under the headline "A New and Telling Proof of the Party's Constant Concern With Continuously Improving the Standard of Living of All People," an 1,200-word report, including two tables, illustrating how the recent pay rise is being applied in "the machine-building and the electrical engineering industries" beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in the machine-building and electrical engineering industries the incomes of skilled and unskilled workers with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei a month" ($1 equalling 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) "have been increased as of 1 August."

Thus a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,828 lei, the highest was 1,965 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,248 lei and the highest is 2,385 lei a month.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,554 lei, the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the rise the lowest base pay is 2,043 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei.

A note specifies that "The increased base pays incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Raises for Technical, Other Personnel

AU0808195688 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 6 August, page 5, carries under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 200-word report, including one table, illustrating how the recent pay increase is being applied in the case of "technical, economic, administration, and other specialized personnel" beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, working personnel "with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei a month will benefit" from the recent pay increase.

Thus the lowest base pay of such personnel before the pay rise was 1,500 lei, the highest was 1,980 lei, while after the pay rise the lowest base pay of such personnel is 2,000 lei and the highest is 2,365 lei.

The table ends with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982."

Light Industry Increases

AU0808194988 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 4 August, page 5, carries under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 1,500-word report made up of three tables illustrating how the recent pay increase is being applied in light industry beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in the light industry the incomes of working personnel with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei a month" ($1 equalling 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) "have been increased as of 1 August."

Thus a skilled worker's lowest base pay in the light industry before the increase was 1,799 lei, the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,395 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the pay rise was 1,525 lei, the highest was 1,857 lei, while after the rise the lowest base pay is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,287 lei.

The tables end with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decree No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Pay Hikes in Geology, R&D

AU0808195388 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 5 August, page 5, carries, under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," an 1,100-word report, including three tables, illustrating how the recent pay increase is being applied "in the area of geology, drilling, scientific research, technological development, design, and information science" beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in these areas the incomes of working personnel with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei a month" ($1 equalling 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) "have been increased as of 1 August."

Thus a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,926 lei, the highest was 1,965 lei, while after the pay rise the lowest base pay is 2,346 lei and the highest is 2,385 lei a month.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,574 lei, the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the pay rise the lowest base pay is 2,053 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei a month.

The report also specifies that technical, economic, specialized, and administration personnel in these areas with less than 2,000 lei base pay a month "will benefit from a pay increase" as well. Thus "the current pay of 1,500 to 1,980 lei will increase to 2,000-2,365 lei a month."

The report ends with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Wood Industry Incomes Rise

AU0508124088 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 3 August carries, under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 2,000-word report made up of three tables illustrating how the recent pay increase is being applied in the area under the ministry of wood industry and construction materials beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in the area under the ministry of wood industry and construction materials the incomes of skilled and unskilled workers with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei per month ($1 equals 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) will be increased beginning 1 August."

Thus, a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,711 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,160 lei and the highest is 2,395 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,505 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,004 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei.

The tables end with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporates compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Ceausescu Receives Mali Ambassador's Credentials

AU0308190188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1759 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/8/1988—3 August [as received] the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Seydou Niare, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Mali to Romania.

Handing over his credentials, ambassador Seydou Niare conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu the best wishes of personal happiness and of prosperity for the Romanian people from the president of the Republic of Mali, Moussa Traore, secretary-general of the Mali People's Democratic Union.

In his address on the occasion the ambassador underscores the links of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples as well as the wish to further develop and consolidate them.

Receiving the letters of credence, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the Mali president warm wishes of good health and personal happiness, of peace, progress and prosperity for the friendly Mali people.

In his address of reply the Romanian head of state points to the good relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Mali, and assesses that there are possibilities to more powerfully develop them especially in the sphere of economic cooperation and commercial exchanges. He also expresses willingness to boost the Romanian-Mali collaboration on an international plane, in the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding the world over.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the new ambassador success in fulfilling his mission, and assured him of the support of the State Council and of his own.

The ceremony and the talk held on the occasion were attended by foreign minister Ioan Totu and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary.

RCP's Coman Meets Tunisian CP Leader

AU0308190288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/8/1988—Mohamed Harmel, secretary-general of the Tunisian Communist Party, received Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who attended the proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly of Tunisia, held in Tunis. On the occasion, a warm friendly salute and the best wishes of successes in activity were conveyed to the leader of the Tunisian Communist Party on behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking for the salute and wishes conveyed, the secretary-general of the Tunisian Communist Party conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial comradely salute and his feelings of esteem and valuation, as well as the best wishes of good health and personal happiness and the Romanian Communists and the Romanian people as a whole ever greater successes in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Dascalescu Condolences to Bulgarian Counterpart

AU0808154488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Aug 88 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a cable to Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On behalf of the government and himself, he expresses sincere condolences in connection with the loss of lives caused by the crash of a passenger plane near Sofia airport.

The cable conveys feelings of sorrow to the bereaved families and wishes for a speedy recovery to those who were injured in the accident.

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Jul-6 Aug

AU0608191788 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 28 July-6 August period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 2 August, Nicolae Ceausescu received departing Peruvian Ambassador Carlos Gamarra Vargas. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1607 GMT 2 Aug)

On 3 August, Nicolae Ceausescu received Salomao Malina, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 3 Aug) and Seydou Niare, the new ambassador of the

Republic of Mali. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1759 GMT 3 Aug) The same day, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 3 Aug)

On 4 August, Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, received a CPC delegation led by Yin Kesheng, member of the CPC Central Committee. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 4 Aug)

On 2 August, Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, met with Abderrahim Zouari, general secretary of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly of Tunisia, in Tunis. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 2 Aug) On 3 August, he met with Mohamed Harmel, general secretary of the Communist Party of Tunisia. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 3 Aug)

On 28 July, Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee, attended a cocktail party given by the DPRK ambassador in Bucharest to mark Victory Day. (Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Jul p 5) On 1 August, he attended a reception give by the CSSR ambassador in Bucharest to mark the signing of the friendship treaty with Romania. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 1 Aug)

Leaders' Public Appearances 23-30 Jul

AU3107141988 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 23-30 July period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 23 July, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu received a Constanta County RCP Delegation, led by Mihai Marina, first secretary of the Constanta Party Committee. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 23 Jul)

On 27 July, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Tulcea and Constanta Counties. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1723 GMT 27 Jul)

On 28 July, Nicolae Ceausescu accompanied by Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea, Silviu Curticeanu, and Gheorghe David visited agricultural units in Constanta County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 28 Jul)

On 28 July, Nicolae Ceausescu and RCP Central Committee Secretary Ion Stoian received Kare Andre Nilsen, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, in Neptun resort. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 28 Jul)

On 28 July, Nicolae Ceausescu and Radu Paunescu, minister of machine building industry, received Syrian Industry Minister Antoine Jubran. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1822 GMT 28 Jul)

On 23 July, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, Miu Dobrescu, TU chairman, Ana Muresan, chairman of the National Women's Council, and Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth addressed a Political Executive Committee meeting, held in Neptun resort, on the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 23 Jul)

On 29 July, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Imre Dunai, Hungarian deputy minister of trade. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1541 GMT 29 Jul)

On 23 July, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a Political Executive Committee meeting on the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress, held in Neptun Resort. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 23 Jul)

On 25 July, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, received Syrian Industry Minister Antoine Jubran. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 25 Jul)

On 29 July, Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, concluded a working visit to Poland. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 29 Jul)

On 30 July, Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, presented the RCP's message to the Tunisian party's extraordinary congress in Tunis. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1634 GMT 30 Jul)

Nuclear Power Station Operation Halted
LD0808200788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Krsko, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Krsko nuclear power station temporarily automatically shut down today sometime before 1800. This happened because of a fault in the regulating converter for the system of secondary water supply.

It is envisaged that the fault will be eliminated during the course of the evening, when it is expected that regular electricity production will resume at this, our first nuclear energy electricity generating facility.

Director of Institute Urges Economic Changes
LD0708210788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 7 (TANJUG)—By mid-1990s, Yugoslavia will have to introduce major changes in the structure of its economy in order to make it more competitive in the world market, federal government member and director general of the Yugoslav Institute for Economic Planning Zarko Papic said on Sunday in an interview to TANJUG. This period coincides with the one for which the Yugoslav Government, in agreement with the creditors, has rescheduled almost half of Yugoslavia's external debt.

"Unless this breathing space is used to enable the economy to meet increased demands, we shall be eliminated from the world economic scene," said Papic. By rescheduling a part of its debt, Yugoslavia has reduced debt payments to 25 per cent of its annual foreign exchange earnings, but—he said—this is not enough to provide the necessary funds for structural changes in its economy.

Papic blamed Yugoslavia's inadequate economic structure primarily on its economic system, which he called a non-market one. Closely connected with this were also the unsatisfactory structure of Yugoslav exports, lacking in goods of higher processing levels, the lagging behind in technology and a smaller share in world trade, which dropped from 0.60 per cent in 1966 to 0.45 per cent last year. It was even lower, only 0.35 per cent, at the beginning of this decade.

Papic believed that the longstanding policy of cheap power, raw materials and food at home was also to blame. "With cheap power and raw materials, our industry did not have to engage in faster echnological advance," he said.

Papic thought that a commitment to the market economy must also be the main driving force for change in the country's economic structure. He believed it illusory to think that the changes can be brought about "without a unified Yugoslav market, its openness to the world" and a reform of the economic system.

The setting-up of small, economical and highly accumulative enterprises has a special place in the country's new development concept, where the introduction of high technology is of extraordinary importance, said Papic. "Small-scale businesses must become an equal part of the large-scale industry, a factor of its dynamization and progress in general," he pointed out.

In this context Papic urged the seeking of additional sources of finance in employing resources of the population in the economy and in joint ventures with foreign partners. He concluded by saying that their reactivation should be stimulated through the introduction of shares, bonds and other securities " of crucial importance" to development.

Kosovo Polje 'Disappointed' With LCY Plenum
AU0808185188 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Aug 88 p 8

[M. Gjata, R. Tahiri report: "Dissatisfaction With the Plenum and Vilification of Responsible Cadres"]

[Text] The meeting of the Kosovo Polje 17th Local Community Political Aktiv in Bresje school the evening before last, attended by more than 100 citizens, included on its agenda the formation of the commune of Kosovo Polje and also, as announced beforehand, added a new item that became the main topic of discussion: an analysis of the proceedings of the recent LCY Central Committee plenum devoted to carrying out the tasks set by the Ninth LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo. Half of the opening speech, and several other speeches that were read, were devoted to this topic.

Why Is Forming the Commune of Kosovo Polje Not Necessary? [subhead]

In his opening speech, Zivojin Martinovic, president of the Kosovo Polje 17th Local Community Political Aktiv, said that we have considered the creation of the commune of Kosovo Polje as a major contribution toward stabilizing the general and political situation in this region. Citizens see this commune as a way of halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and encouraging them to return. It was also said at the Kosovo Polje gathering that the commune is being formed for political reasons, and primarily in order to overcome the consequences of the counterrevolution. However, Zivojin Martinovic continued, we cannot, in setting up the commune, accept the mechanical implementation of the so-called national quota system which often helps to promote an ethnically pure Kosovo. We demand that communal representatives should be one-third Albanians, one-third Serbs, one-sixth Montenegrins, and one-sixth from other nationalities. This would eliminate the inequality of the Serbs and Montenegrins which results from favoring the majority Albanian nationality compared with all the other peoples and nationalities. In his speech, Ratko Maksimovic said that the LCY Central Committee plenum, instead of contributing toward the

stabilization of the situation, was a great disappointment and a severe blow for us Serbs and Montenegrins. He also demanded that the creation of the commune should not be discussed at all. Dusan Bajkovic drew attention to the steps taken up till now in creating the commune, asking whether deserving candidates had been appointed to posts. Radovan Delibasic remarked that steps toward forming the commune are being taken without heed to the people of this local community, and that delegates have been chosen for various offices; he demanded that the procedure for creating the communal authorities be halted, and that the elections that have taken place already in the trade unions and the Youth League be countermanded and declared void. Muhamet Krasniqi, member of the Pristina Communal SAWP Presidium, insisted that the procedure of creating the commune of Kosovo Polje should nevertheless be discussed, bearing in mind its importance. The initiative arose in this very place, and has been approved by all the provincial, republican, and federal authorities, and the relevant decisions for it have been taken. The national composition has been fixed with the agreement of the presidiums of the Kosovo Polje LC Action Conference and the Kosovo Polje SAWP, and there has been no discussion yet about the specific individuals to be elected to leading posts. You will elect them yourselves.

Zivojin Martinovic, chairing the meeting, put to vote the proposal to halt the procedure toward creating the commune of Kosovo Polje, and to declare void the elections that have already taken place in the trade unions and the Youth League. This was approved. Zika Mitrovic, secretary to the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium, tried to stop this decision from being made, and called for a full report on the conduct of the elections hitherto. However, the chairman of the meeting declared the decision to have been made, and said that the suggested report could be prepared, and if everything was found to be in order, the decision could then be retracted.

"The Plenum Did Not Fulfill the Aims of the Serbs and Montenegrins" [subhead]

In his speech introducing the part of the meeting discussing the LCY plenum, Zivojin Martinovic, among other things, mentioned that this plenum about Kosovo had been understood by the Serbs and Montenegrins to be an event at which their destiny would be decided. For this reason, they had taken the decision to go to Belgrade en masse while the plenum was being held, and not to return to their homes until a real solution was found which would revive their hopes for a quiet and secure life. They wished thereby to put pressure upon people and upon the highest party body in the country, so that what he called the agony of the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo could be brought to an end. However, the appeal of the Serbian LC Central Committee about going to Belgrade was heeded, and only 130 citizens were there, who, as Martinovic put it, "carried out their civil and patriotic duty—greeted the plenum, sent a telegram of support to it, and then returned to Kosovo."

He said that, from people's reactions, the plenum had not provided the required optimism that emigration will be stemmed. We saw, he said, that the necessary unity and determination to fight against the counterrevolution and eradicate it completely does not exist. We saw who is committed to changing the situation and who is for preserving the status quo, who distorts matters by changing the topic, and who considers the main danger to lie in Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism.

In our view, he said in his introductory speech, the plenum should have purged some of those who are most responsible for the situation in Kosovo. We expected this, and it is not clear to us why we were disappointed. Instead of determination in identifying responsibility for the failure to implement the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee plenum, we encountered determination to defend those who are indefensible from demands for accountability, Zivojin Martinovic stressed.

Random Assessments [subhead]

Ratko Maksimovic said that "The statements at the plenum of certain individuals, such as Josip Vrhovec, Azem Vlasi, Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, and Kacusa Jasari, meant support and encouragement for the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

He added that "We only see now why the counterrevolution is still continuing. We were astonished at Kacusa Jasari, yet she is only continuing the policies started by Kolj Siroka and Azem Vlasi. Josip Vrhovec spoke out against us with unprecedented hatred, and attacked our dignity and our ambitions for freedom." Dusan Bojkovic urged that those in leading positions should be called to account. According to him, the SFRY Assembly cannot evade its responsibility either. He concluded that "The workers' class has been crying out for several years now, with evidence." "You all know who should climb down from the political stage—those who did not extend a welcome to the Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad and Pancevo, from Bosko Krunic to Milanko Renovica, who spent his term of office doing nothing, and who even saw no reason to stand up and say something at the last meeting." Radovan Delibasic called all the leaders at the last republican meeting to account.

Sveto Grujic, in a written speech that he read out loud, said that "People are very disappointed in the proceedings of the LCY Central Committee plenum, because they expected that the responsibility of various office-holding individuals would be identified." If the ninth plenum was historic, then the most recent plenum was expected to be a further step forward, whereas it was a step backward. From what he said in his speech, Josip

Vrhovec cannot be a member of the collective leadership. He praised statements in the speech of Ali Sukrija at the recent Kosovo LC Conference. The demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins are well-known, he said, stressing that the SR of Serbia must be constituted as a state throughout its territory. Sveto Grujic also drew attention to articles in RILINDJA and items on Pristina Television which, according to him, gave misleading information about the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, alleging that they highlighted statements by individuals made from nationalist positions, whereas we determinedly dissociate ourselves from such statements. (This speaker did not mention any specific articles, did not mention who spoke from nationalist positions at these meetings, and did not say when or at what meeting such statements were rejected.) Sreten Martinovic said that the plenum had been a success, because we from Kosovo Polje had the satisfaction of hearing it admitted that the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins are not nationalist, as we have been saying for 3 years. Blagoje Popovic said that he happened to be in Belgrade by chance on a business trip, that he had joined the Serbian and Montenegrin citizens in the Pioneers' Park, and that their number had been greater than was stated in the press. He then read out loud the telegram that they had sent to the LCY Central Committee plenum. Popovic then considered the statements of Bosko Krunic and the Vojvodina leadership, saying that "They are paying off their debt to the Kosovo leadership which they owe for help in drawing up the 1974 Constitution." Zora Labus said that he was now going to throw the cat among the pigeons. He asked who now needed factories and communes, and added that, as he put it, "they now want us to confront each other." If I knew which Albanians are in favor of brotherhood and unity, I would go to them and say that I am in favor of them too. But I cannot distinguish these Albanians. Milovan Simic said that we are creating Yugoslavs: The SFRY is a new community, and it is well-known that 76 percent of those who have declared themselves to be Yugoslavs [choice of national identity made on a census form] are Serbs. Viewing the situation in Kosovo, Milovan Simic that everything started in 1968, when the so-called "Djakovica group" came to power. This speaker also vilified Josip Vrhovec, Bosko Krunic, and Petar Matic. Stanoje Milosevic said that there was nothing left to say after Simic's speech, "except that it is now evident that not only Fadilj Hodza, but Vrhovec is in the counterrevolution, when he says that we will invest in Kosovo, which means telling the Albanians to produce ten children each and push out the Serbs." Stojan Ognjenovic said that he was surprised at what had happened at the plenum. "Vrhovec helped the counterrevolution just as Branko Horvat did with his book. I propose that Belgrade SAWP should organize a rally as a sign of its support for us."

Slobodan Kitic asked whether it is the leaders whom we are naming or ourselves who are to blame. Radoje Vukic, president of the Veterans' Association, read out loud his speech and demanded that various named leaders at all levels should be called to account. He said that Petar Matic was not entitled to speak in the name of the veterans, because he represents narrow interests. Mitar Baljevic said that the question of creating the commune of Kosovo Polje was redundant after the plenum, because the plenum was unable to solve the most basic issues. The situation in Kosovo is more serious than we have been told. This can be seen from General Lukezic's speech at the plenum, and also from the secret documents that some participants in the plenum happened to see. According to Sveta Jaksic, the situation cannot be stabilized as long as there are still people like Vrhovec and the Vojvodina leadership.

Muhamet Krasniqi said in his speech that the plenum must be assessed on the basis of its results and not on the basis of the speeches of one individual or another. He opposed the random accusations leveled against provincial and federal leaders. Stevo Lazic opposed the creation of the commune because, as he put it, the Albanians, whose voice has not yet been heard, would come to power more than we would, under the national quota system, and would use their position to dictate terms.

The speeches at the meeting, especially the most emotional ones, were accompanied by frenetic applause from those present, while Muhamet Krasniqi's speech was interrupted by noisy shouting.

Pristina LC Group Views New Municipalities

LD0808232588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—At an expanded meeting of the coordination group of the Pristina LC municipal committee for the implementation of the program of measures and activities for resolving the problems in Kosovo Polje, Obilic, and Novo Brdo, it was concluded that activities for the formation of these three new municipalities should be continued and speeded up. It was agreed that electoral activities up to now should be reexamined, and that those representatives who do not enjoy the confidence of the nations and nationalities should not be elected. In the proposal of candidates, national quotas should not be strictly adhered to .

In the current political circumstances, it was stated, it is particularly important to ensure adequate representation for members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities in the organs and organizations of the future municipalities.

It was noted in the discussion that on the occasion of the proposal of candidates for the leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations in the future municipalities, particularly in Obilic, there have been shortcomings as well as the imposition of individuals, even of those who on several occasions have been named in connection with

inactivity and careerism. It was also noted that enthusiasm with regard to the formation of the new municipalities dwindled to some extent after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, and that the plenum did not fulfill the expectations of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in every respect.

Taking part in the discussion, Zika Radojlovic, a member of the working group of the Serbian LC Central Committee called for the election of the right people to posts in the future municipalities, stressing that "no one should be embarrassed if more Serbs and Montenegrins are elected than is envisaged by some established assessment."

Turning to the 16th LCY Central Committee session, Radojlovic said that now we should not go back over who said what at that plenum. The exception to this, according to him, is Josip Vrhovec, who insulted this nation by equating it with Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Azem Vlasi, member of the Kosovo LC provincial committee, however, said that Vrhovec did not say at that session what Radojlovic interpreted him as having said. He added that the public, via the television transmission, was acquainted with what Vrhovec really said.

Vlasi said that it would be damaging to create a partisan atmosphere following the LCY Central Committee session, in favor of this or that discussion, or an atmosphere of assessing whether it fulfilled expectations or not.

He also warned that efforts to stabilize the political situation in Kosovo are not helped by advocating mass gatherings such as the announcement of a protest meeting of 50,000 signatories of the petition by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, or collective and mass emigration.

Vlasi called for the formation of the new municipalities and added that one should not harbor the illusion that the founding of these would solve all problems.

Steelworkers Meet Montenegrin Leaders

AU0808154888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 88 p 3

[Lj. Mudresa report: "Resignation According to Steelworkers"]

[Text] Titograd, 3 Aug—This morning a group of workers from the Boris Kidric steelworks in Niksic, visited the Executive Council of the SR of Montenegro. In talks which lasted several hours, the workers briefed Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Montenegrin government and his assistants, on the current socioeconomic conditions in this collective which is the biggest employer in Montenegro.

"If the obligation to pay out compensation for the Niksic steelworks' foreign exchange losses continues to be postponed then we will not be able to guarantee the safe economic and political situation of the 7,500 workers in the steelworks. The workers are prepared to go to the SFRY Assembly and elsewhere, to ask for a more regular payment and a fairer solution to the question of the foreign exchange losses. The workers have already asked for this several times and it has been discussed at the Committee for All-Peoples Protection and Social Self-Defense, said the worker Miloje Radunovic.

According to Slobo Vujadinovic, the business activities of the steelworks have become more difficult because of the failure to pay the foreign exchange losses, so that its giro-account has been blocked more or less since 1 March this year.

The chief of the steelworks in Niksic, Dr Radoslav Bulajic said, "We owe between 2 and 3 billion dinars because we have been unable to meet the foreign exchange losses, and this is a huge burden not only on the steelworks but also on Montenegro. On the other hand, the problem of payment is becoming more difficult. Because of the general lack of money, buyers are able to pay less and less, so that even now, the steelworks is demanding the payment of more than 2 billion dinars through the courts. Therefore, we are asking the republican organs for a permanent sitting of the Business Court in Titograd, even if the steelworks has to pay for it.

The steelworks has been concerned with the question of the foreign exchange losses for several years. Difficulties arose because of the foreign currency loan of $165 million which the steelworks lent to the Yugoslav National Bank in foreign currency according to the dinar-dollar exchange rate at that time. This debt is now much greater because of the weaker economic value of the dinar. It is true that legal provisions regulate the obligations of the Yugoslav National Bank toward the steelworks and other collectives, which gave foreign currency and received dinars in return. It is stressed in the steelworks and in Montenegro that such a way of finding a solution is unfair and things must be solved in a much more just way than now.

Foreign currency losses were not the only reason for the steelworkers to come to the Republican Executive Council this morning.

"The fall in the workers' standard of living and huge inflation which means we cannot follow the increase in prices let alone know how much things will cost tomorrow, hit the workers the most and are, of course, worrying. Why do FEC organs constantly talk about holding down prices when they increase daily. How can we talk about the greater motivation of the workers when the average personal income in the steelworks for last month was about 38 million old dinars. More and more people in the steelworks do not live off their wages, but work privately in order to survive," said Miloje Radunovic.

The worker Dusan Jakovljevic, president of the steelworks' workers council in Niksic, said:

"About 7,500 workers in the steelworks live and work in exceptionally difficult conditions. Of course, we always start from the fact that we also have personal weaknesses. However, after the last statement that the figures for the 9-month period showed a loss even though the workers had worked well, the workers lost the will to work. With such pay, there is no motivation to increase production."

Branko Kostic, vice president of the Republican Executive Council, briefed the group of steel workers on the efforts of the Montenegrin government and its organs to be "constantly concerned" with the questions of foreign currency losses. On the other hand, galloping inflation is ravaging the Montenegrin economy in practical terms and causing poverty everywhere. Those who have more can survive, but those who do not, drown, said Kostic.

Speaking more generally about the current socioeconomic situation of Montenegro and the efforts of the republican government and others to solve the not inconsiderable problems, Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Republican Executive Council, briefed the workers on the questions of foreign exchange losses.

"The steelworks is not the only collective which is faced with foreign exchange losses, but other Montenegrin collectives are as well. The problem of the steelworks is, in fact, a Montenegrin problem. We in the Republican Executive Council have been concerned with these problems for 6 years; there has been virtually no meeting where this has not been discussed. We are constantly stressing that foreign currency losses are an important problem which demands a more comprehensive solution than previously. Honestly speaking, few of us dispute this, but in practice this is totally different. We in the Republican Executive Council will be forced to resign if the foreign currency losses of Montenegro are not covered by 15 September."

Pejic on Nation's Role in Gulf War Cease-fire

LD0808194588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] United Nations, August 8 (TANJUG)—Dragoslav Pejic, Yugoslavia's standing representative and ambassador to the United Nations, has qualified the two sides' agreement to cease-fire and start peace negotiations as a "historic moment" for both Iran and Iraq, and for the international community as well.

This moment, Pejic said, is of exceptional significance for the Middle East region, too, particularly so in relation to a greater stability. This cease-fire and the start of peace negotiations are, lastly, a historic date for the United Nations as well, in particular for the Security Council and the secretary-general who have exerted great efforts in quest of a peace settlement and overcoming many obstacles in this way.

From the very first day of its being seated on the Security Council, Yugoslavia has developed its widest activity, too, as the coordinator of the group of the non-aligned countries in this important U.N. body, Pejic said. A peace breach in the seemingly impenetrable hard-core stubborness of the warring parties until then was made last March at the time when Yugoslavia presided over the council, he recalled.

Yugoslavia has gone on developing such activity in recent weeks as well, as confirmed at several meetings between Yugoslavia's standing representative to the U.N. and foreign ministers of Iraq ('Aziz) and Iran (Velayati) as well as with the two countries' ambassadors to the U.N.. The chiefs of diplomacy of Iran and Iraq have also explicitly paid tribute to Yugoslavia for its zealous peace efforts and contribution to the existing solution.

Yugoslavia's role like this has proved to be particularly fruitful at the moments of slowdown when skill, patience and good intentions were needed to overcome obstacles and bring the started peace process to an end.